1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

appeared. When the priest became inspired he uttered the god's commands. The priest always became inspired at one particular place on Tafahi. There was no temple, however, but only a large rock which was also called Fatuulu. (The gods entered their priests only at certain places.) The ground at this rock was sacred. Any man who stood on it would die. Even a Maatu might not go there. Fatuulu commanded all the fish. The *kaloama* was not especially sacred to him. Fatuulu was the Otua Haa Maatu, that is, the god of the lineage of Maatu.

Maatu knew the place of another god but did not remember his name.

There was a god house. This god supported Maatu (Ikamafana II?) when he conquered Tafahi. Ngongo did some fighting, too. The god's house (43) was like a chief's house, except that it was closed in all around and the entrance was through a hole just under the eaves, reached by climbing a tree. This god entered into Maatu himself; that is, into everyone of the line. The god that entered Maatu was different from those that entered priests. The reason the Niuatoputapuans were not conquered by the Tongatabuans was because this god stayed with them all the time. The difference between this god and Fatuulu was that this god was in Maatu all the time and never left him, while Fatuulu came from the rocks in the ocean to enter Toumaama. Maatu himself as embodying his god was a priest too. In battle, Maatu's god would run ahead of him in human form.

When a person became ill he was carried to Maatu's god's house and laid outside. If the person's sickness did not yield to medicines, a consultation of the family settled who would sacrifice a little finger for the sick person. This was done in the sick person's house, and the blood caught in a banana leaf and two outer finger joints placed in it. These were carried to the god's house. People would sit on the ground outside, cross-legged, hands clasped, heads bowed down. They put the offering on the ground while the priest looked down from the doorway. This is said to apply also to Fatuulu, who had a similar house. The priest would say, "It is well. The god has told me you may take this man back. He is well now. His sin is finished." Then they would all arise with the man that was sick and go home.

If the people went in the morning with sacrifice they might sit at the god's house all day until the god gave an answer. Having to sit there in the sun was something of a sacrifice itself. Each had to have a ragged mat around his waist and wear a necklace of Tahitian chestnut leaves.

A god's house might be in the bush. All was tapu around for a certain distance. People would not go near. No one went inside. In the house of Maatu's god were war implements, large white cowries, and a kava bowl. Shells, other than cowries, were strung spirally around the posts.

Seketoa did not have a priest because the transformation of the young chief to fish form took place so recently. Seketoa had no house. He was always a fish after his suicide. (26, p. 83.)

At times the priest would order a member of some family to be strangled. The reason might be that the person did not believe in the god. "In those days all were practically slaves to the gods." There were many other gods unknown to the informant, but all were afraid of Maatu's god. The pig was sacred to Maatu's god. People might kill and eat pigs only at the god's pleasure.

Offerings were not regularly made by the people. When the god wanted something the priest gave orders that it be brought. No excuse would be given for the demand.

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the hands of the god. Moreover, standing in each god's house there were, in addition to the mats, wooden war weapons and other objects which were painted yellow with turmeric. Some of the wooden objects standing in the god's house seem to have been more or less rudely shaped into human form, although there is no evidence that they were regarded as idols.

Offerings of finger joints or human lives, or of food were presented to the god whose aid was sought through the priest. Prayer, at fire lighting in the evening, is reported for Samoa, but appears not to have been practiced in Tonga. Kava, however, was poured out on the ground as an offering to the gods in heathen times. Before engaging in warfare, boxing, wrestling, or other athletic contest, each contestant would throw a bit of kava, called *mesini*, over the fence into the enclosure of his patron deity, to procure the protection of the god.

Other individuals, as well as priests, seem to have been the repositories of stories concerning the gods. These stories are called *talatupua*, the name apparently containing the stem *tupui* which refers to the original gods as distinguished from disembodied human spirits. The word *talanoa* refers to old-time stories, but not necessarily those that deal with the gods. The enclosure in which a priest's or god's house stood was often referred to grandiloquently as *lotoalahi* (inside the great fence). The houses of the priests and gods seem to have borne especial names, as well as the tracts upon which they stood. For example, Falemanaia applied to a god-house at Makave, Vavau Island. The site where the Falemanaia stood is now marked by an irregular mound about 4 feet high. Other temple names are mentioned above.

Certain of the priests seem not only to have exercised the usual priestly functions of medium for the god, but seem also to have been at times the caretakers of adjacent cemeteries. Thus, the priest who resides at Fiehua, the shrine of the god Finautauiku, was also the caretaker of the cemetery Loamanu, wherein the Tui Haa Takalaua were buried, and where small carved wooden figures are said to have been set up at graves. It was suggested by the priest Kautae that they were purely decorative, which would bear out Cook's observation of the lack of respect bestowed upon them (66, p. xlix).

Each lineage, represented by its chief or head, had a god who was worshipped by all members of the lineage. Children worshipped the god of their father and commonly the wife adopted the worship of the god of her husband. Sometimes, when a god was believed to be incarnate in some bird, a bird of that particular species would be kept in the house of the chief of the lineage.

Gods seem not to have been connected with settlements or districts, but to have been connected only with groups of people; that is, with patri-

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fect. As it was more common among the aged than the young, some of us were of opinion that it was occasioned by the death of their parents, or some other near relation. But Mr. Wales one day met with a man, whose hands were both perfect, of such an advanced age, that it was hardly possible his parents could be living. They also burn or make incisions in their cheeks, near the cheek bone. The reason of this was equally unknown to us.

Wilson (66, pp. lii, liii) and Mariner (41, vol. 2, p. 210) describe well the process of finger sacrifice and tell of children competing for the privilege of sacrificing for some sick relative.

The sacrifice of human beings was resorted to on the following occasions: (1) Sometimes to secure the recovery of a great chief from illness, (2) following the death of a great chief when his widows might be strangled, or anciently perhaps burned alive, (3) at the funeral of a great chief, when the undertaker and (or) certain commoners would be imprisoned in the great stone burial vault, and left there to die, (4) at the dedication of certain temples, (5) perhaps on the occasion of the launching of certain great double vessels. The carving of living victims appears not to have been in the nature of a sacrifice (26, pp. 34, 192).

Sacrifices to the gods to secure the recovery of a great chief often consisted of one or more of the chief's own children by women of inferior rank. Children of low rank who were liable to be sacrificed were called *tuputalinafi*. A sacrifice for the recovery of the Tui Kanokupolu Mumui is described by Wilson (66, pp. 238, 239). Mariner (41, vol. 2, p. 208) describes others. A sacrifice was made for the old chief Fatu of Tongatabu, father of Tungi I. Fatu was very ill, and his sister's son Tavake (Fatu's *fahu*) ordered that his own son be strangled as an offering. The strangling did not take place in the sick man's house but outdoors. The victim with his two executioners was covered with a huge piece of tapa. When the strangling cord had done its work the trio were uncovered and the corpse of the victim carried into the house of the god Pulotu Katoa. The sacrifice was of no avail, for the god, speaking through his shaking priest, predicted Fatu's death, which shortly occurred. According to Cook (19, vol. 1, p. 410) a man destined for sacrifice was called *tangata tapu*.

The strangling of widows of great chiefs which was the custom at the end of the eighteenth century, may have been due to Fijian influence (41, vol. 2, p. 209; 66, p. 240). Some evidence that burning alive was an earlier method appears in Samoan tales dealing with Tonga (36, vol. 1, pp. 94, 344). Whether this custom can be connected with the suttee of India, I cannot say, but it seems quite possible that the burning may have been a cultural feature brought from the continent and later supplanted by the strangling cord of Fiji; or possibly strangling may be traced westward through Micronesia and connected with the custom in ancient Japan. Hearn (29, p. 314)

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would choose a friend of his own to superintend operations on the end of the rope by which the stone slab was lowered into place, and his saying to this friend, "Pulu hoo tuku kau moui," was a request to let down gently in order to give him a chance of life. The name of an undertaker Mailau is preserved as having been so shut in a vault. In the ceremonies following burial the matapule of the chief, either successor to the dead man, or the head of the family before, sat on the chief's right hand and the undertaker sat on his left. On this occasion, since Mailau was in the vault and unable to take his position and perform his duties on the left of the chief, someone went each morning and called to him the work that had been done, and enumerated the ovens of food that had been presented. For eight days the unfortunate man in the vault called out the appropriate thanks, but on the ninth morning there was no response from below, and presuming that Mailau was dead, the chief proceeded to the appointment of his successor.

Burial alive of a victim beneath a house post may have been an occasional practice in Tonga. One instance only came to light and that in connection with the erection of the Falemee, which was a temple, presumably to Hikuleo, on the island of Haano, Haapai. Dr. S. W. Baker in a lecture given on November 2, 1866, made the following statement about it:

> I have stood in the old Pale Mee at Haano, which is the last *fale otua* (temple of their god) still standing in Haapai. At the foot of the principal post there is buried a man, who was said to be the best singer in all Tonga. He was offered a living sacrifice to the god at the building of the temple, as an act of dedication.

The launching of great vessels over the bodies of commoners was asserted by the chief Ata in reply to a leading question. He said that he had heard such a tale from the chief Fulivai of Vavau. The information was volunteered by another informant that a chief once killed one or two men who were aiding in the launching of a great vessel, in order to stimulate the remaining men to greater effort. Takai, the one-eyed chief of Pea, Tongatabu, on one occasion killed the first man of a crew that was tugging half-heartedly on the ropes by which a great stone slab was being moved from the weather shore to Pea.

One informant told of the title Tupou Angataha which was an office dedicated to sacrifice:

> A Tupou Angataha had proven a traitor in war to the Tui Tonga Laufilitonga [probably before his appointment]. As a punishment Laufilitonga ordained that a Tupou Angataha should die every other day. The duty of selecting each new appointee was placed in the hands of Tupou Vakehekehe, a chief of the Haa Ngata. Each new Tupou Angataha was proclaimed by the matapule at the kava circle of Laufilitonga. The Tupou Angataha appointed one day was executed the next day by the club or the strangling cord. How many victims were thus appointed and executed was not known. The last appointee fled from Tongatabu to Haapai and not only escaped execution himself, but put an end to the series.

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 009 Tonga 009

SANCTUARIES

According to one prominent informant, all Tongan god-houses were sanctuaries to which a fugitive might flee. There seem, however, to have been certain sanctuaries which were particularly noted as places of refuge (*hufanga* or *fale hufanga*) (p. 300). A sanctuary which was violated by pursuers of a fugitive was spoken of as "leaky." For a detailed discussion of the physical features of sanctuaries, see McKern (42). 778

By far the most famous sanctuary in the whole kingdom was Fanakava, which, however, differed from the others in that it was only a green (*malae*) upon which there were no buildings, but only a few *ovava* trees. Fanakava was situated near the present Catholic graveyard of Loma in Lapaha, the Tui Tonga's residence in Tongatabu. Adjacent to the green of Fanakava was the tract called Fiehua in which was situated the house of the god Finautauiku. This house was also a sanctuary for fugitives.

Fanakava was the only place of its kind in all Tonga, being not merely the green of the Tui Tonga, but possessing peculiar traditional status as a place of refuge under the power of the Tui Tonga. No god was associated with it, nor was there a priest or other person associated with it in any official capacity. The green, however, was sometimes used by the Tui Tonga for kava parties. It is said that Fanakava was not even surrounded by a fence, but was a wholly open green. There is reputed to be also a Fanakava in Pulotu, the unseen world, of which the earthly Fanakava in Tongatabu is a duplicate. [775]

In the island of Haano in Haapai is a tract called Fanakava occupied by the temple of the deity Hikuleo (p. 291). This and the fact that there is a mythical Fanakava in Hikuleo's realm of Pulotu raises the question as to whether the Fanakava in Lapaha was not really associated with that deity, especially since Hikuleo was the reputed patroness of the Tui Tonga. The word Fanakava occurs quite often as a place name in Tonga (25, p. 56). [103]

Most sanctuaries had enclosing fences, within which was situated the house of the presiding deity, the house being occupied by the officiating priest or priestess. [346]

Another especially famous sanctuary was that of the god Tui Haa Fakafanua, at Maufanga, Tongatabu, one of the three principal sanctuaries which had the reputation of being non-leaky. By one informant this sanctuary with its presiding deity was regarded as subsidiary to the sanctuary of the god Finautauiku at Lapaha. It was said that the Lapaha god, who was a chief amongst the gods, sent the lesser deity, Tui Haa Fakafanua, to preside at Maufanga and to establish there a sanctuary. With the exception of two or three commoners who were buried within the sanctuary at the orders of the god Tui Haa Fakafanua, possibly as sacrifices, people were not buried within the enclosure of the sanctuary, according to the matapule 776 778

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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matter, and entreat mercy for him at least, if not for herself. The remainder of these teeth were discovered a long time afterwards, by the particular intervention (as the natives will have it) of the gods. A few years had elapsed, when there being occasion to build and consecrate a house to some god, on the island of Lefooga, it was taken into consideration what valuable article should be deposited beneath its foundation, according to the custom on such occasions. They were about to get ready a large bale of gnatoo for this purpose, when the inspired priest of the god declared it to be the wish of the divinity to have some whale's teeth; and that there were several buried together on the small island just spoken of, in such a particular spot: which place being referred to and dug up, the teeth were found in a perfect state. This discovery was most firmly and most piously believed to have been made by the sacred interposition of the god himself, who inspired his favourite priest with the requisite knowledge to make it.

In the Fiji islands, whales' teeth are held, if possible, in still greater estimation, for it would be dangerous there for a man, unless he be a great chief, and even then, if he were a foreigner, to be known to have a whale's tooth about him; the personal possession of such a

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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[776] [775] ferior, and have not the power, as the two first have, of coming back to Tonga to inspire the priests, though they are supposed to have the power of appearing to their relatives.

4. The original attendants, or servants, as it were, of the gods, who, although they had their origin, and have ever since existed in Bolotoo, are still inferior to the third class.
5. The Hotooa Pow, or mischievous gods.
6. Moooi, or the god that supports the earth, and does not belong to Bolotoo.

The first class, or original hotooas, are supposed to be rather numerous, perhaps about three hundred; but the names of very few are known, and those only to some of the chiefs and matabooles; for it may easily be supposed that, where no written records are kept, only those whose attributes particularly concern the affairs of this world should be much talked of; as to the rest, they are, for the most part, merely tutelar gods to particular private families, and having nothing in their history at all interesting, are scarcely known to any body else.

[346] [778] Several of these primitive hotooas have houses dedicated to them; the houses are built in the usual style, but, ge nerally, somewhat more care is taken, both in building them, and keeping

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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them in good order, decorating their inclosures with flowers, &c. About twenty of the gods have houses thus consecrated to them, some having five or six, others one or two. The following are the names and attributes of the principal gods.

TA'LI-Y-TOOBO'; (the literal meaning of this name, from which nothing can be deduced, is *Wait there, Toobo!*) He is the patron of the How and his family, not of Finow in particular, who is the present king, but of any one who may be king. He is also god of war, and is consequently always invoked in time of war by the How's party: in time of peace he is also occasionally invoked for the general good of the nation, as well as for the particular interest and welfare of the How's family. He has four houses dedicated to him in the island of Vavaoo; two at the small island of Lefooga, one at Haano, one at Wiha, and two or three others of smaller importance elsewhere. He has no priest, unless it be the How himself, whom he sometimes inspires: but it has happened that a How, during his whole reign, has not been inspired.

TOO'I FOOA BOLO'TOO; the literal meaning of this is, "*Chief of all Bolotoo*;" from this name one would suppose him to be the greatest god in Bolotoo, but he is inferior to the one before mentioned; how he came by this name the na-

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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who follow this profession are sailors: their mode of catching fish is chiefly with the net, though they sometimes make use of the line and hook.

LANGA FALLE, house-building. Every man knows how to build a house, but those whose business it is have chiefly to erect large houses on *maláis*, consecrated houses, and dwellings for chiefs. The general form of their houses is oblong, rather approaching to an oval, the two ends being closed, and the front and back open; the sloping thatched roof descending to within about four feet of the ground, which is generally supported by four posts; the larger houses by six, or sometimes more. The chief art in building a house consists in fastening the beams, &c. strongly, with plait of different colours, made of the husk of the cocoa-nut, in such a way as to look very ornamental; the colours, which are black, red, and yellow, being tastefully disposed. The thatch of the superior houses is made of the dried leaves of the sugar-cane, and which will last seven or eight years without requiring repair. The thatch of the common houses is made of matting formed of the leaves of the cocoa-nut tree, and which lasts about two or three years; but being much easier to make than the other, it is more frequently used. The flooring is thus made: the

7: McKern A-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

of curiously curved and crossed lines that certainly cannot be even the poorest of representations of English letters (fig. 5). A young Tongan, who was present at the time of my visit readily identified these figures as shorthand characters, such as are taught at the Government and Wesleyan colleges at Nukualofa. They are patently modern markings.

Professor Wragge of Auckland is reported to have identified Makahokovalu as a religious site connected with the sun worshipping practices of the primitive Tongans. I have failed to find any archaelogical evidence of sun worship, and Gifford (12) reports the absence of any evidence that sun worship was ever practiced by the Tongans. In spite of reports to the contrary, the mound is not intentionally orientated except with reference to the shoreline.

Makahokovalu shows the finest structural workmanship seen in Tongan *esi*. There are more imposing structures from a standpoint of size, particularly height, but in size of the stones in the retaining walls and the degree of skill in masonry, they compare favorably with the best executed langi platform tombs of the ancient Tongan rulers. In fact, this *esi* would be an excellent example of a one-tier langi except for the absence of fine sand or black pebbles, characteristic of the grave mounds. The place is actually referred to as a tomb in one myth recorded by Gifford (13, p. 68).

The name Makahokovalu may possibly be derived from an original number of eight large stones constituting the westernmost wall, only six of which are now in place. No other arrangement of eight stones could be found. In this connection it should be noted that eight seems to have been a favorite number to associate with mounds. For example, Lefelefevalu (Eight-sexual organs, p. 30): Kafoa, eight-stones at Kafoa (p. 11); Siahalavalu (Mound-of-eight-roads). However, in no one of these three structures was the number eight descriptive of structural peculiarities. It is suggested that the number eight, when so used, may have been a conventional term signifying many, or a well balanced number, and had no numerical significance.

7. Mangafakinanga, near Kolonga, Tongatabu.

The *esi* of Mangafakinanga consists of a rectangular mound with a convex upper surface, surrounded by a low perpendicular wall of dressed coral slabs placed on edge and end to end. It is said to have been the *esi* of the Tui Tonga Tuitatui, a famous ancient Tongan monarch generally accredited with the building of the great trilithon (p. 63). The structure is 35 feet long, 21.5 feet wide, and is 3 feet high. The retaining walls average 1 foot in height and 0.7 foot in thickness. Most of the stones of the south wall have been removed in comparatively recent times. The wall stones are about 3 feet long. All stone surfaces are rather smoothly dressed and componant parts of the wall fit snugly together. Corner pieces are lapped with no apparent regard as to which piece is outside. The westernmost wall extends in a direction N. 20° E.

Near the northeast corner of the mound and rising from the retaining wall, is a large monumental slab which measures: length above the ground 8.3 feet, width, 5.9 feet, thickness 1.4 to 2 feet. Though leaning inward at an angle of 75° from the

7: McKern A-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

The southern and most ancient part of Lapaha was largely monopolized by the Tui Tonga. The northern part, Maolunga, was the seat of government of the Tui Haatakalaua. Lapaha was faced on the northwest by the lagoon and surrounded on all other sides by a fortification consisting of a ditch and an earth wall surmounted by a stockade. The ditch is now largely filled in, but in places, where apparently it has not been disturbed, it is 10 feet deep and 20 feet wide at the top. The earth removed in digging the ditch forms a steeply walled bank bordering the village side of the ditch. The stockade fence was constructed of vertically erect posts placed together without interval and held together by means of poles placed horizontally and lashed with strips of fau bark. There were three, straight, level entrances to the fortified area, the names of which are not remembered. According to one informant, the Tui Tonga Takalaua either built or rebuilt these fortifications.

Entering ancient Lapaha through the southwestern gateway, the first structure encountered was the Olotele, a rectangular area enclosed by a reed fence taller than a man's head and entered by a gateway, in the center of which stood a post of volcanic rock, 3 feet high and 1 foot thick, called Tokomatupa, said to have been a gift to one of the Tongan rulers from Vuna, a chieftain of Houma. This area enclosed the house of the Tui Tonga, probably a dwelling of large size built on an earth mound. Surrounding the King's house (also called Olotele) were the smaller out-buildings occupied by the King's household servants.

All that now remains at the site of the Tui Tonga's house is a low oval mound of earth, 50 feet in length, the house-mound of the royal dwelling. The stone Tokomatupa, now generally known by the name of Levulevukefu, has been recently moved from its former position and now stands under a nearby tree. One house post from the old royal residence has been built into the house of Joeli Pangia, the living, ranking representative of the Tui Tonga family. It is a smoothly surfaced house post of *ngatae* wood (*Erythrina corallodendron*).

Opposite the entrance to Olotele and about 35 yards distant, stood the house of Kautai, the priest who ministered to the king's family god, Taufaitahi. This house is said to have had a name, which is now forgotten. The large oval mound, 40 feet in length, that now marks its site is called Paepaeokautai (*paepae*, house-mound; *o*, of; Kautai).

North of these two houses and immediately bordering them, was the great *malae* of the Tui Tonga—a flat, grassy, rectangular area where the king held ceremonies and entertainments. The *malae* was about 100 yards long and surrounded by large *ovava* trees. A very large tree of this species, under which the Tui Tonga sat during any function, was named Manaui.

This area no longer exists as such. The main road through Mua passes

7: McKern A-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

The stone wall which partly surrounds Loamanu measures 235 feet along the eastern side and 181 feet along the northern. The wall, now in ruin, is 5 to 6 feet wide at the base and 4 to 6 feet high; originally all the wall was probably 6 feet high. This wall is composed of rough, medium-sized pieces of coral reef limestone, piled carefully with the flattest sides outward and parallel with the slope of the wall surface, about 75°. This surface, where it remains intact, is moderately smooth and uniform. At a distance of 35 feet from the western end of the wall two upright, squared pieces of coral limestone, 1.5 feet wide, 0.8 foot thick, with heights of 5 and 6 feet, respectively, stand in the wall, separated by an open space 2.5 feet wide. These rudely dressed posts appear to mark a narrow entrance. No account could be obtained regarding this wall. It appears to be a partially complete, or partially destroyed fence enclosing the cemetery. 172 349 [361]

Just outside the western limits of Loamanu, near the shore of the lagoon inlet, now represented by a *paepae* 35 feet long, 20 feet wide, and 1 foot thick, stood the house called Milo. There is some doubt about the intended purpose of this place. According to one report, Milo was the residence of one of the important matapules of the Tui Haatakalaua. The name and duties of this officer were not explained although one informant rather doubtfully thought that he took charge of the burial rites of deceased members of the chieftain's family. Another unsubstantiated report describes the place as the priest-house of the chieftain, but several informants insisted that the Tui Haatakalaua had no god other than the family god and priest of the Tui Tonga. 172 342 [362] 172 342 644

East of Loamanu stood a house said to have been the dwelling place of Afu Haalaufuli, a matapule of the Tui Haatakalaua and the caretaker of the cemetery Loamanu. A report, describing this as a god-house for one of the Tui Tonga's gods, was emphatically denied by Joeli Pangia and his oldest matapule. The house-mound is now obliterated. [362]

Tatakamotonga, the home of the Tui Kanokupolu dynasty after its rise to political power, faces the lagoon and is surrounded on two sides by a trench and moat—an extension of the older fortifications. [362] [712]

The house of the king, or ranking member of the family, called, generally, *falehau* (*fale*, house; *hau*, a king of the Tui Kanokupolu dynasty), and specifically Langakali, originally stood in a fenced enclosure, of undetermined dimensions, which is said to have been rectangularly oblong in shape with a major axis extending northwest and southeast. This fence was called Lulukaho. The house-mound which remains is 40 feet long, 25 feet wide, and 1 foot high. 172 351 644 [342]

The priest's house, called Avaui, stood about 30 yards southwest from the king's house. All that remains of the structure is a house-mound about 35 172 346 [368]

7: McKern A-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

172
346 feet in length by 20 feet in maximum width. The god of that place was Taliaitupou, or Kaliaitupou.

172 About 50 yards southwest from this god-house once stood the structure
342 called Matangipuomai, the *falefakautangata*, or sleeping house of the oldest
644 son of the king, while unmarried, and of the selected group of young men
[362] comprising his princely suite. As the site is now occupied by a wooden dwelling of European type, nothing could be determined regarding the size or orientation of the original house.

The site of the *falefakaufefine*, the sleeping house of the oldest, unmarried daughter of the king and of her young maiden attendants, could not be located nor its name ascertained. It is thought to have stood north of the king's house.

The *falehau*, the guest house of the king, was the largest house in Mua, reputed to have been equipped with eight large houseposts. Nothing remains but the mound, of which the major axis, extending northwest and southeast, is 80 feet in length; the maximum width is 50 feet. Its specific name is said to have been Tatakamotonga. According to some reports, it occupied the center of a grassy area, a *malae*.

172 Outside the walls of Mua, east of the district called Tatakamotonga, there
361 was a large area called Ahau (literally, of king), which seems to have been
644 an outside addition to the lands of the reigning Tui Kanokupolu. The only place of chiefly importance located here, however, in so far as could be
172 determined, was Kikiloi, a god-house of the Tui Tonga where the priest
346 Kautai is said to have officiated for the god Taufaitaha. Cultivation has changed the house-mound to such an extent that it was impossible to determine its size and orientation.

172 With reference to the age of Lapaha, the feature shown on the map as
133 the former shore line is of special interest. A survey of this old shore
361 terrace leaves no possible doubt that it once constituted the margin of the lagoon. Its chief archaeological importance lies in the fact that the ends of the moat surrounding three sides of Lapaha, terminate abruptly at this line. This seems to indicate that this was the true shore line at the time the fortification was built. The people of the district say that the strip of low-
172 lands between the former and present shore lines was artificially built by one
173 of the ancient Tui Tonga. The fabulous ship *Lomipeau* is said to be buried
361 somewhere under this fill. The undertaking of reclaiming land on such a scale, without any apparent need for it, is too large to seem probable.

Dates depending on genealogies are bound to be inaccurate, but must serve where no other convincing data are obtainable. Allowing 30 years to a generation, Lapaha became the seat of the Tui Tonga about the last of the eleventh or beginning of the twelfth century. The fortifications around

15: Thomson G-3 (1886-1900) 1902
OU9 Tonga OU9

that they would not be satisfied with a Protectorate, but would ask for annexation. I flattered myself that I knew the little people too well to believe the latter forecast.

As the white line of houses that marked the capital grew in definition, I began to notice changes. There stood the palace and its church as trim as ever within the stone-walled compound, but to the westward, where a native could be seen running up the British ensign, a wooden bungalow had replaced the picturesque old native-built consulate. These had been prosperous years with the Tongans; there was not a native-built house to be seen; trim little weather-board cottages had sprung up everywhere, and in the vacant space beside the government offices of my day there now stood a pretentious wooden building, the new House of Parliament. Naturally the traders, who had had the erecting of all these, had prospered too, and the line of stores on the eastern side of the town were resplendent in new paint. Two houses only in all the half-mile—ruinous, rain-washed, and neglected—told their own tale. They belonged to old Tungi and his son Tukuaho, my dear lamented colleague; with them and with their owners the years had dealt unkindly, as I shall presently relate.

15: Thomson G-3 (1886-1900) 1902
OU9 Tonga OU9

was left standing; the trees were naked; the graceful palms were mere ragged broomsticks stuck aslant in the earth. In the steamy calm the water of the harbour was like oil, and it was impossible to picture the wild fury that had beset the place but seven days past. We landed, half deafened by the reverberating echo of the saluting guns, to pay our official visit to George Finau, now promoted to be governor over the people whose hereditary lord he is. Abnormally thick-set when I knew him, he was now elephantine in girth, and if his twelve-year-old son maintains his present rate of growth, his little finger will be thicker than his father's loins.

The formal reception being over, we were free to stroll through the town. The ruin was complete; the government offices were an untidy heap of lumber; the great native church, the last work of King George of pious memory, had collapsed; its mighty roof, unshipped from the supporting posts, but still held together by its sinnet lashings, lay careened like a stranded hull—the pulpit was overturned, the flooring ripped from end to end. Never again, the king told me, would such a house be built again, for the degenerates of these days prefer corrugated iron. Already the Roman Catholics were pointing to

15: Thomson G-3 (1886-1900) 1902
0U9 Tonga 0U9

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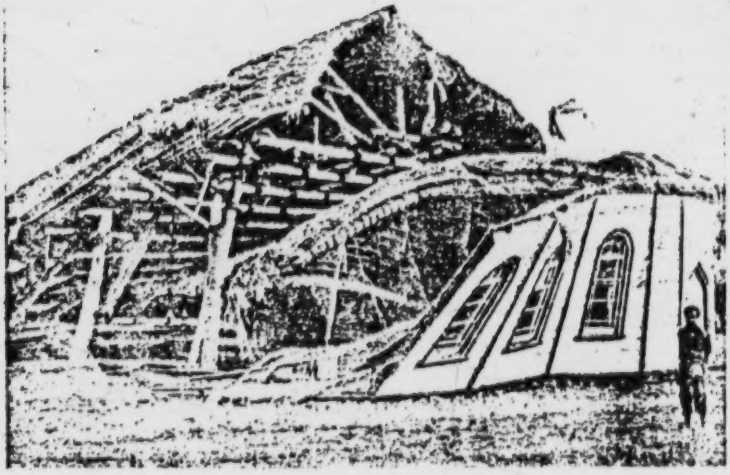

THE CHURCH BUILT BY KING GEORGE I.
Wrecked by the cyclone

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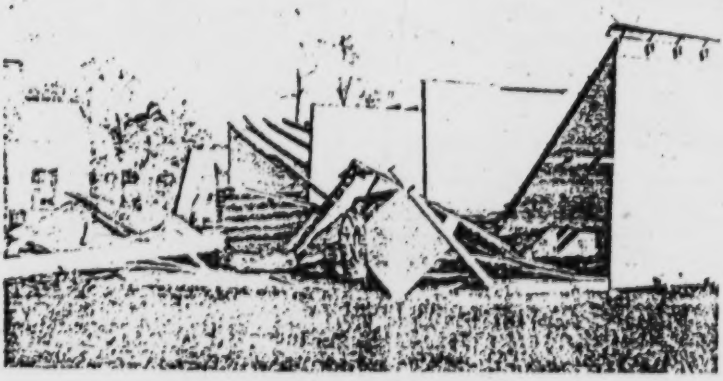


THE GOVERNMENT OFFICES AT VAVAU
Wrecked by the cyclone. A female convict is clearing away the wreckage

[facing p. 186]

To face page 186

15: Thomson G-3 (1886-1900) 1902
0U9 Tonga 0U9

731 their concrete church, still standing like an island
[346] among the general wreckage, as a proof of Divine warranty, a little tempered perhaps by reason of a gaping rent in the tower. The people were living in the open air, crawling into the cover of their ruined houses to shelter from
[152] the rain. Poor souls! they bore their misfortunes
[245] with a light heart, though the crop of orange trees, from which they get their living, were uprooted, and the cocoanuts would not recover
[245] for two years. Every boat in the island was busy bringing food from the less stricken villages, and the men were saving something from the wreck by turning the fallen cocoanuts into copra.

Next day we set forth in the ship's boats to
648 survey the German coaling-station in the bight
[133] of the harbour. The shore is here a coral reef,
[134] upheaved about fifteen feet above the sea. The
[311] soil is shallow, but, like all limestone formations, very productive, and covered with plantations
648 and cocoanut trees. On the further side was
504 the open sea, for this part of the harbour is a mere breakwater, tapering away to a boat passage in the bight of the harbour, where the land is only two furlongs across. The Germans had done themselves handsomely, and had allowed no concern for the welfare of the

20: Gifford E-5 (1920-1921) 1924 OU9 Tonga OU9

at Tongan feasts do the same. The combination of European dress and fingers for knives, forks and spoons seems strikingly incongruous to one new to the custom. At the end of the meal a basin of water is passed around, so that each one may wash his hands.

Perfumes are much appreciated by the Tongans and traders say that they discriminate between the cheaper and the better grades. This is clearly but a transferal of their old interest in perfumed coconut oil, with which they still freely anoint themselves.

European alcoholic drinks are called kava papalangi (foreign kava). They are permitted only to the land-holding chiefs, in a limited quantity, and to foreigners. Commoners must go without.

Stone, bone, and shell implements have been supplanted long since by metal implements. Contact with Euro-American culture has resulted, however, in the rise of a new stone implement. This is the slab of stone and the stone pounder for preparing kava root. Formerly this was chewed to prepare the brew; now, owing to Caucasian influence, it is pounded.

The former narrow roads that traversed the various Tongan islands have now all been replaced by roads of standard width for wheeled vehicles. The commonest vehicle is a two-wheeled cart imported from New Zealand. The Tongan usually dispenses with the board seat and sits cross-legged on the bed of the cart. In the two large islands of Tongatabu and Vavau automobiles have made their appearance. They are the more numerous in the former island where the levelness of the country makes for ease in driving. The majority of cars are driven by Caucasians, but the Tongans are fast learning. Many Tongans have been familiar for years with gasoline launches.

Vehicles keep to the left in Tonga.

Many Tongan houses show a hybridism in construction. Often the roof will be of corrugated iron instead of the regular thatch. Or again, the sides and rounded ends will be of boards instead of cane. These innovations usually do not affect the shape of the house. Many churches are in native architecture, which employs sinnet cord instead of nails.

Appreciation of money is naturally developing in Tonga and is undoubtedly an important factor in the process of acculturation. National feeling, though probably existent

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

797 159 without any thought of either present or future remuneration. But, what was better still, Hafoka breathed in the atmosphere of a truly Christian family, where he could closely observe their mode of life day after day. Here he heard many Christian phrases and allusions, in ordinary conversation, to which he had never before listened, and which he could not understand, until he received explanations from his friend Moala, who was not slow to answer the inquiries of his visitor. At length, the Christian conversation of his new companions, and, above all, a few visits to the school of the village, where he had begun to learn his alphabet, although more than forty years of age, decided him to make a formal surrender of himself to God's people. The Sabbath day was at hand, when Hafoka resolved to enter the house of prayer, for the first time in his life, as an avowed worshipper of the living God.

797 346 Few of the numerous places of worship in Tongatabu could excel, or even equal, the little chaste and picturesque chapel at Neiafu. It stood in the midst of a dense mass of trees, some of which were of gigantic proportions, and all covered with the richest foliage. It had been recently built under our own inspection; and, shortly after it was opened for Divine worship, certain strange appearances in the interior of the building, made a deep impression on the minds of the people. I state the facts as they were related to myself, without venturing any opinion as to an explanation of the phenomena described.

797 346 781 A series of evening prayer-meetings was held in the chapel, not long after its dedication; and, on one such occasion, an aged couple were the first to approach the building, carrying with them, as

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

usual, their own lights. What, however, was their great dismay, on perceiving, as they supposed, that the interior of the building was on fire! They raised an alarm, and, joined by several other persons, rushed into the building; which, strange to say, was found without any indications whatever of light or fire. Instant and vigorous search was made, but nothing could be discovered to explain the remarkable appearance. On several subsequent occasions, a similar light was witnessed, by many respectable and credible persons. After the fullest inquiry, and especially after the testimony borne by Samuel Moala, I could have no doubt of the reality of the phenomenon itself, however it may be explained or understood. It is most likely that it had a natural explanation; but, we need scarcely say, that the sight was regarded, by the natives themselves, as supernatural in the highest degree. We suggested that it might have been the clever freak of some one intending to alarm the coming worshippers, or that a number of fire-flies might have got into the building; but, those who had seen the appearance, scouted all such explanations as insufficient.

In this very place, the writer of these pages was preaching, on the Sabbath morning on which Hafoka crossed the threshold, knelt down in the humblest attitude of prayer, and breathed out his desires to God; a heathen no longer, but a humble disciple of the Lord Jesus Christ. That sight was worth a life-time of Missionary toil and sacrifice. Many examples of the triumph of Gospel truth over heathen unbelief and prejudice, were afforded to all the Missionaries who have laboured in the Friendly Islands, and to ourselves among the number; but,

26: Buck D,E-4 (no date) 1935 OU9 Tonga OU9
Samoa OU8

MATERIAL REPRESENTATIVES OF TONGAN AND SAMOAN GODS.

By Te Rangi Hiroa.

Introductory.

THE Tongans and Samoans of western Polynesia resembled other groups in southern, central, eastern, and northern Polynesia in having gods, priests, and places where religious observances were carried out.

The gods varied in origin, sphere of influence, and power. Their power was confined to a family group or extended to tribes, villages, districts, or even to one or more islands. In general principle, the gods were regarded as something intangible without innate material form.

The priest was the human medium between the god and the followers of the god. The office was usually hereditary and carried out the transmitted ritual and observances that placated the god and induced it to use supernormal influence on behalf of the devotees. A visible manifestation of the formless god was apparent when an inspired priest was affected with a convulsive seizure attributed to the god entering his human medium to make known his decisions or commands. In such cases, the priest was regarded as a material receptacle and was hence termed a *waka* (canoe or receptacle) in New Zealand and a *pi'a atua* (god-box) in Mangaia. The inspirational technique was used throughout Polynesia but not all priests were convulsive receptacles nor did all gods assume this method of visible manifestation.

The official places for making divine contact varied considerably. Certain gods were represented by rocks or trees, and a simple ritual such as the offering of a branch or a pebble or the muttering of a short formula was carried out even by the laity when such sites were passed. For more important deities and occasions, special structures were constructed, the offerings assumed greater value culminating in some regions in human sacrifices, the

26: Buck D,E-4 (no date) 1935 OU9 Tonga OU9
Samoa OU8

ritual became more elaborate, and an educated priesthood officiated. Religious places of worship conformed to three main types.

(a) Stone structures were characteristic of central, eastern, and northern Polynesia. The main features were a paved or gravelled court usually rectangular in ground plan and a raised platform at one end of the court. Elaboration varied in different regions as to the presence of curbing, walls, stone uprights, stepped platforms, stone seats, houses, images, additional courts and terraces, and special features such as the carved boards *(unu)* of Tahiti and the oracle-tower of Hawaii. Simple forms occurred in the atoll islands, the inland valleys of the Society islands, and the now uninhabited islands of Nihoa and Necker which lie to the north-west of Hawaii. The unroofed court accommodated a select congregation and the raised platform provided a sacred place about which the priests officiated.

In central and part of eastern Polynesia, the structures were referred to as *marae* but there are linguistic indications that the term *marae* more specifically indicated the court while the raised platform was usually distinguished by some form of the term *ahu*. In Easter island, the emphasis was on the raised platform with its stone images, and the term *ahu* seems to have included the whole structure with the sloping pavement in front of the platform. In northern Polynesia, the term *marae* disappeared and the Hawaiian structure received the name of *heiau*.

The thatched buildings that were erected on some courts for the housing of drums, sacred objects, images, and even priests, were accessory to the fundamental stone structure. It is probable that some of the simpler courts had no houses erected on them.

(b) Wooden structures were characteristic of the Tongan and Samoan groups of western Polynesia. They were built on the same architectural plan as the dwelling- and guest-houses which stood on stone platforms. Wooden fences were erected around the house to define a taboo area. The term *malae* (cf. Tahitian *marae)* was not applied to these sacred houses but referred to the village-green where open-air meetings of a purely social nature were held. The stone platform was accessory to the house and

26: Buck D,E-4 (no date) 1935 OU9 Tonga OU9
Samoa OU8

T S 171 346 [342]

merely followed the pattern adopted with houses for human occupation. The fundamental element of the religious structure was the house in which sacred objects were kept and in which the priest might reside.

(c) No specialized structure. New Zealand, the southern region settled by Polynesians, was characterized by the absence of an elaborated pattern of religious structure. The paved *marae* court of central Polynesia with its religious significance was absent, but the term *marae* was applied to an unpaved social court before the village meeting-house. The New Zealand *marae* thus had an affinity with the Tongan and Samoan *malae* in that it formed an assembly-ground for social functions. The religious *ahu* of central Polynesia was divorced from the social *marae*, and under the name of *tuahu (tu-ahu)* was relegated to some selected spot outside the village. The *tuahu* consisted merely of a cleared space, a wooden post, an upright stone, or even of as many as five stones set upright by human agency. More often, however, the *tuahu* was represented by a selected outcrop of rock which the hand of man had no part in providing.

T S 171 368

T S 171 346 [784]

It is true that the dwelling-house occupied by the priest in New Zealand might be regarded as taboo by the general public from its association and the priest might be consulted there in his religious capacity, but there was no special complex as in western Polynesia. In New Zealand, the house was the house of the priest; but in Tonga, the house was the house of the god. Small sacred houses were erected on one or more piles, in which offerings for the gods were placed on occasions, but such buildings were isolated elements that lacked the definite relationship which existed between the raised wooden platforms *(fata)* for offerings and the religious *marae* in central Polynesia. The Maori seemed to be content to get into touch with his gods without the aid of the elaboration in religious structure which took place in the rest of Polynesia.

T S 776 778 171

Though the Polynesians created their gods from immaterial beings without innate material form, they associated them with certain material forms that the eye could see. The material representatives of the gods without form of their own may be classed into two groups, animate and inanimate.

26: Buck D,E-4 (no date) 1935 OU9 Tonga OU9

The existence in Haapai of inanimate representatives of gods, shaped in human form, is established by the documentary evidence of the missionary, John Williams, who visited the Tongan group in 1830. At that time, Haapai was subject to the authority of Taufaahau, who afterward became ruler of the whole Tongan group with the title of George Tupou I. Taufaahau, according to Williams,[6] had despised the Tongan system of worship from his youth and, coming in contact with missionaries during a visit to Tongatabu, he resolved to abandon the gods of his ancestors. On his return to Haapai, he "commenced the work of destruction upon the gods and maraes." Williams had come to Tonga after work carried on in the Society and Cook groups and by "marae" he meant the Tongan house temple. His misuse of the term "marae" must not be regarded as evidence that the *marae* form of religious structure was present in Tonga. An opposing faction determined to celebrate a religious festival in honour of the gods whom Taufaahau was desecrating. Williams[7] wrote as follows:

> "Taufaahau, resolving to anticipate and neutralize this movement, drove a large herd of pigs into the sacred enclosure, converted a most beautiful little temple, which stood in the middle of it, into a sleeping appartment for his female servants, and suspended the gods by the neck to the rafters of the house in which they had been adored. The idolators, ignorant of his proceedings, came, with great ceremony, attended by their priests, to present their offerings, and found, to their astonishment, a number of voracious pigs, ready to devour anything they had to offer; and the gods, disrobed of their apparel, hanging in degradation, like so many condemned criminals."

The worshippers retired in indignation but evidently did not attempt to cut down the gods from their elevated position. Taufaahau conducted Williams to the building and Williams[8] continues:

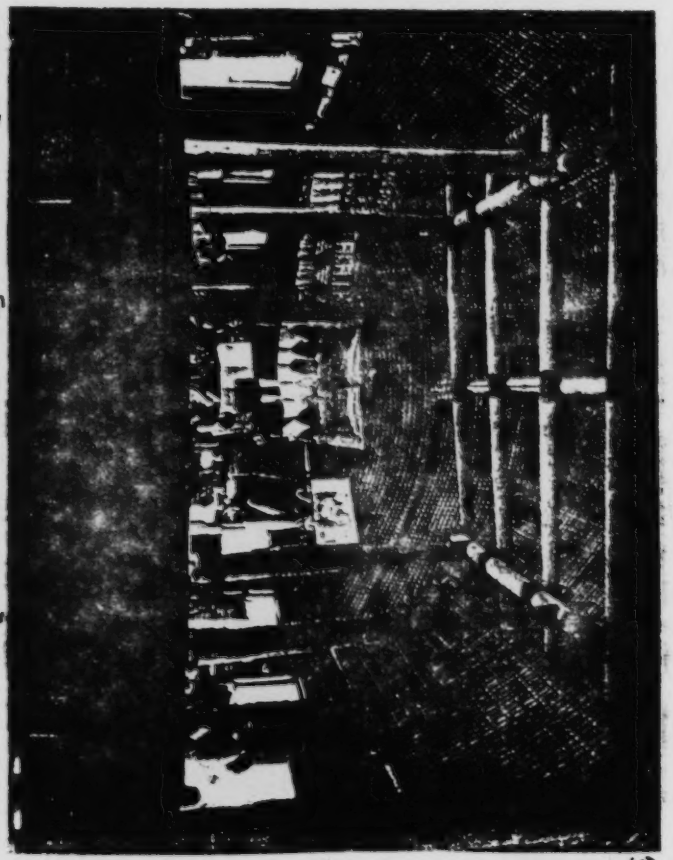
> "On observing five goddesses hanging by the neck, I requested this intrepid chief to give me one of them, which he immediately cut down and presented to me. I have brought it to England, with the very string around its neck by which it was hung."

[6]Williams, John, *Missionary Enterprises*, London, 1839, p. 273.
[7]Williams, *Opt. cit.*, pp. 273, 274.
[8]Williams, *Opt. cit.*, p. 275.

39: Gerstle & Raitt C,Q-4,5 (1952-1972) 1974 OU9 Tonga OU9

[P. 16-C]

[For caption see P. 17]



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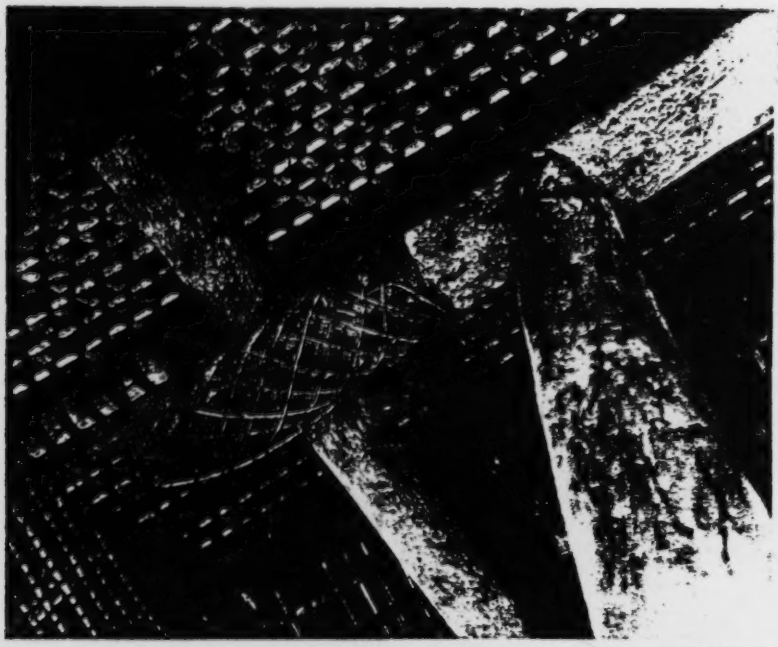
39: Gerstle & Raitt C,Q-4,5 (1952-1972) 1974 OU9 Tonga OU9



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Intricate roof latticework and beams lashed with coconut-fiber sennit add richness to this old Wesleyan church (left) in 'Ohonua, 'Eua. The superb lashing (close-up above) is a traditional art form which is slowly being forfeited to modern architectural practices in Tonga.

Na'e lahi 'aupito hono ngaus'aki e kafa 'i he langa fale he taimi ko e, 'o hange ko ia 'oku ha faka'ofo'ofa mo masani 'i he ongo ta koeni 'o ha falelotu Uesiliana 'i 'Ohonua, 'Eua.

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Enormous, hollow, wooden drums, *lali*, like the one pictured here, were used in the past to herald important events (e.g. war, the taking of prisoners, religious rites), and are still used in Tonga today to announce church services. Steady, deep, mellow booms of the *lali* can be heard for miles. The *lali* in this photo is in front of the Free Church of Tonga in Ma'ufanga, Tongatapu.

Na'e ngaue'aki foki e lali he taimi fuoloa ke tala 'aki ha tau, pe ko ha puke popula 'o ha ni'ihi, pe ko ha me'a fakalotu pe ngaahi me'a mahu'inga pehe. Ko e ta eni 'o ha lali 'i he falelotu 'o e Siasi Tonga Tau'ataina 'i Ma'ufanga, Tongatapu.

[G.50.C]

39: Gerstle & Raitt C,Q-4,5 (1952-1972) 1974
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39: Gerstle & Raitt C,Q-4,5 (1952-1972) 1974 Tonga 009
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Organized religion, which has been thriving in Tonga for more than a century, today includes the Free Wesleyan (to which the majority of Tongans belong), Catholic, Seventh Day Adventist, Anglican, Free Church of Tonga, Mormon, Pentecostal, and Baha'i faiths. Pictured here is the modern Free Wesleyan Church building, uniquely designed by Tavi, in Ha'ateiho, Tongatapu. [145]

Kuo lava eni e senituli 'e taha mo e 'i Tonga 'a e Lotu Kalisitiane. 'Oku 'i Tonga he taimi ni 'a e ngaahi siasi Kalisitiane kehekehe, 'o kau ai e Siasi Uesiliana Tau'ataina 'o Tonga, Katolika, 'Aho Fitu, 'Ingilani, Tonga Tau'ataina, Mamonga, Penitekosi mo e Pahai. Ko e ta en 'o e falelotu Uesiliana 'i Ha'ateiho, Tongatapu, 'a ia na'e langa 'e Tavi.

[P 51-C]

39: Gerstle & Raitt C,Q-4,5 (1952-1972) 1974 OU9 Tonga OU9

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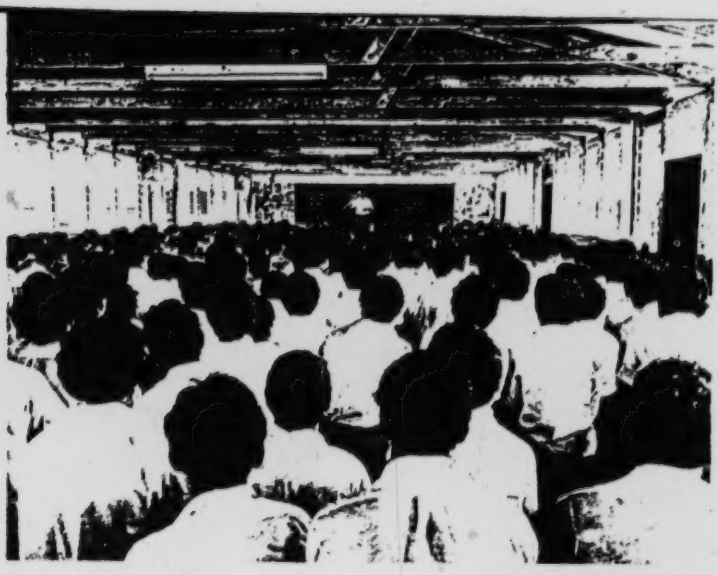

Population is becoming a major problem. There are approximately 92,000 people in Tonga; however, distribution is very uneven, for more than half are now living on the rapidly urbanizing island of Tongatapu—many having moved from outer islands in search of better employment or educational opportunities. Photo above is at St. Andrew's (Anglican) School in Nuku'alofa. At right is a family planning poster which, in essence, reads: *"I love children, but not one after another!" What can you do? Inquire at the Family Planning Office.*

Kuo kamata ke fu'u tokolahi 'a Tonga. 'Oku fe'unga mo e toko 92,000 he taimi ni, pea 'oku laka hake 'i he vahe ua 'a e kakai 'oku nofo 'i Tongatapu. Lahi foki a hiki ki ai mai he ngaahi 'otu motu kehe koe'uhi ko e kumi ngaue pe ko e fie ma'u ha ako lelei ange. Ko e 'Apiako 'Ingilani (St. Andrews) e 'oku ha 'i olunga, pea ko e akonaki e ki he fakakaukau'i famili 'i to'omata'u.

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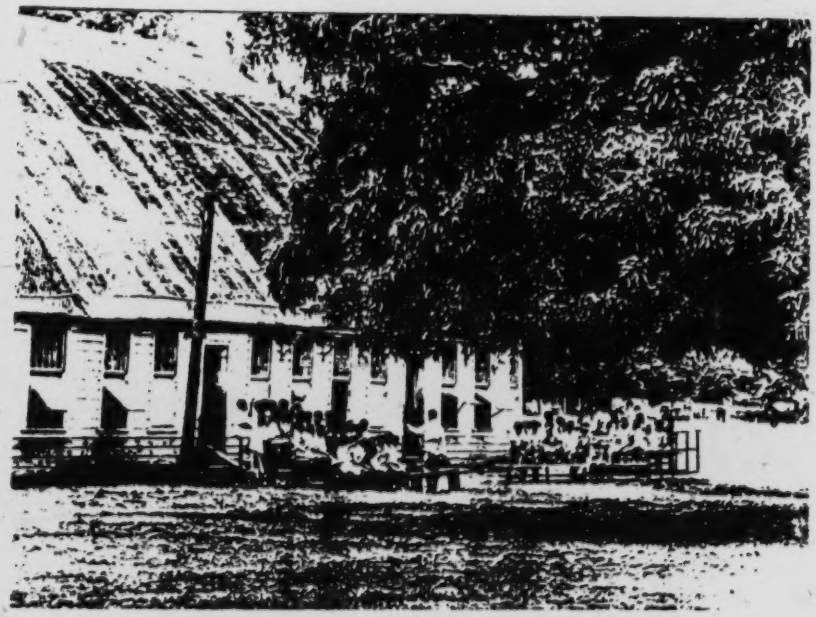

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Education in Tonga, which is provided mainly by government and church schools, is compulsory between the ages of 6 and 14. The Tongans generally value education highly, however, and want their children to study beyond the primary level. But meanwhile, there is a serious problem arising: more and more people are being educated for a relatively few white-collar jobs. Such a trend, which is precipitating an undercurrent of discontent and appreciable migration ("brain-drain") to more industrialized countries, must be coped with. By placing more emphasis on vocational training (especially in agriculture), and by pursuing the development of economic interests within Tonga, the kingdom could enable her people to play a productive, satisfying role in the future of their country. Photo above shows some students of Nuku'alofa Wesleyan Primary School having an outdoor lesson.

Kuo pau ke ako è Tonga kotoa mei he ta'u 6 ki he ta'u 14. Ka 'oku meimei loto e matu'a kotoa ia ke ako 'enau fanau ki he ngata'anga 'o honau ivi. Ko e me'a mahu'inga foki e ako, ka kuo kamata eni ke ha mai ha palopalema 'i Tonga 'a ia 'oku fa'a hoko pe 'i he ngashi fonua kuo lahi 'enau ako faka'atamai. Kuo lahi 'aupito e fa'ahinga kuo nau ma'u ha tu'unga fakaeiko ma'olunga 'o hange ko e ma'u mata'itohi, ka 'oku fu'u si'isi'i e ngaue fe'unga mo kinautolu 'i Tonga. Ke ia si kuo faka'au ke 'alu atu ki muli ha fa'ahinga e ni'ihi na'e lelei angea 'enau ako. Koe'uhi 'oku ma'u ma'ui e tokolahi mei he kelekele pea mo tahi, 'oku totonu ke fakalahi ange 'a e ngashi feinga ako ki he ngoue pea mo e toutai foki, kae'uma'a 'a e ngaahi ako ngaue kelekele 'o hange ko e tufunga. Ko e ngashi tefa'aki fakaeiko ia e 'aonga lahi taha ki Tonga 'i he ngashi 'aho ni, pea mo e kaha'u vave taha. Ko e ta eni 'o e kalasi 'a e Ako Teu 'a e Siasi Uesiliana 'i Nuku'alofa.

39: Gerstle & Raitt C,Q-4,5 (1952-1972) 1974 OU9 Tonga OU9

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'Atenisi Instituta (above), the only privately operated educational institution in Tonga, is run by 'I. Futa Helu in Nuku'alofa; it is basically a high school, with technical and university divisions as well. There is also in Tonga a branch of the University of the South Pacific, and the photo at right shows 'Anau Fanua in the U.S.P. library; classes at U.S.P. in Nuku'alofa include law, commerce, Tongan traditions, economics, mathematics and French. In addition, Tonga has a Teacher Training College (Nuku'alofa) and an Agricultural College ('Eua), and there are a certain number of scholarships available each year for study abroad.

Ko e 'apiako eni ko 'Atenisi (ta 'i 'olunga) 'a ia 'oku fakalele 'e 'I. Futa Helu. Ko e 'apiako pe eni 'e taha 'i Tonga 'a ia 'oku 'ikai fakalele 'e he pule'anga pe ko e taha 'o e ngaahi siasi. Ko e 'api ako'anga ma'olunga, pea 'i ai foki mo hono va'a ako faka'univesiti mo e ako fakatekinikale. 'Oku 'i Tonga foki mo e va'a 'o e 'Univesiti 'o e Pasifiki Sauta. Ko 'Anau Fanua eni (ta 'i to'omata'u) 'i he loki laipeli 'o e 'apiako ko ia. 'Oku 'i ai foki mo e 'Apiako Fakafaiako 'i Nuku'alofa, kae'uma'a e Kolisi Ngoue 'i 'Eua.

54: Cook G,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

651 tinued to sing short sentances, while a number of other men were
796 coming in with Yams, each tied to the middle of a pole. In the mean
time the King and the Prince came and seated themselves on the
[123] area, and we were desired to sit down by them, to pull of our hats and
untie our hair that we might appear the more decent. The men with the
[482] yams being all come in, each pole with the yam was taken up between
two men who carried it over their shoulders; and after forming themselves into companies of ten or twelve they marched a cross the place with a quick pace each company headed by a man bearing a club or spear and guarded on the right by several others armed with different Weapons. A man carrying a live Pigeon on a pearch Closed the rear. Omai was desired to ask the Cheif where the yams were going
[644] to be carried to, he answered to be baked. This appeared probable
643 enough as we had been told that the occasion of this ceremony was
[264] him and his Son eating together, a thing that had never yet been done.[1] However as he seemed unwilling to give us the information we wanted two or three of us followed them contrary to his inclination. We found they had stoped before a Morai or Affiatouca,[2] which was hardly a quarter of a Mile from the place where they first assembled; here they were making up the yams in bundles but for what purpose could not learn, and as our presence seemed to give them uneasiness we left them and returned to the Cheif, who told us we might amuse our selves by walking about awhile for that nothing would be done for some time; the fear of loseing part of this Ceremony made us not
[784] be long absent. When we returned to the King he desired me to order
[688] the boats crew not to stir from the boat, for as every thing would very soon be *Tabu*, who ever was found walking about would be *Mated*, that is killed or beat. He also informed us that we could not be present
651 at the Ceremony, but that we should be conducted to a place where
796 we might see every thing that passed; objection were made to our
123 dress, to be present it was necessary we should be naked as low as the breast with our hats off and hair untied. Omai offered to conform to

[651] the present Keeper of the Palace Records at Nuku'alofa, informs me that 'the Tu'i Tonga
796 himself directed everything at the Inasi, no one knew exactly what would happen. There
643 were no fixed rules. . . . Stories are told about the Inasi, but there are no details for the
[644] actual ceremony itself and probably each Tu'i Tonga had his own arrangements for the performance.' Gifford (*Tongan Society*, pp. 76–7) describes, from the memories of an aged informant of things seen in his youth, a ceremony, '(or perhaps entertainment)', that seems to have been one of the last traces of anciently; but clearly this was of the '*inasi* proper. For what we may call 'the young Prince '*inasi*', Cook and Anderson remain the only glasses in which we can see, darkly.

[1] Eating together would imply complete equality, as of two co-existent Tu'i Tongas.

[764] [2] The two things are not the same. The *fa'itoka* was the tomb structure, though it
could also be a definite area about the mound where a chief's important retainers and
[346] distant relatives were buried (McKern, p. 31). The *nuea* (Tongan *nuka'a*) was in this context the open space for assembly in front of it.

54: Cook G,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

they do not worship any thing that is the work of their own hands, nor any visible part of the creation. They do not make offerings of Hogs, Dogs and Fruit as at Otaheite, unless it be emblematical as their Morais are perfectly free from every thing of the kind; but that they offer real human sacrifices is with me not a doubt. Their Morias or Afiatoucas, for they are called by both names, but mostly by the latter, are as at Otaheite and many other parts of the world, a burying ground and a place of worship, though there are some that seemed to be only appropriated to the first, but these are small and in every other respect inferior to the others.

—As we never saw a funeral, I can give no account of the ceremony used on that occasion. We only know that the dead are buried in these Morias, probably in something like vaults, or as Omai called them (who was with me when I made the enquiry) stone coffens.[1]

I shall conclude my observations on these islands and people with giving some account of the Astronomical and Nautical observations that were made during our stay among them. And first I must ob-

Latitude and Longitude

serve that the difference of Longitude between Anamocka and Tongatabu, is less by than in the Chart and Narrative of my last voyage; an error that might easily arrise, as the longitude of each was found without any conection with the other, but now the distance between them is determined to a degree of precision that will not admit of the least error; and which the following table will illustrate.

	°	′	″
The Latitude of the observatory at Tongatabu by the mean of several observations			

'atua (numerous ones—district gods, lineage gods and family gods) dwelt in a region in the west called Pulotu, to which the souls of chiefs and *matapule* made their way; but commoners came, as it were, to a dead end. 'They have a very Gentlemanlike notion of a future State, they firmly believe that Woweatooa never troubles himself about any one but the Eggees or *Gentlemen* but when they are dead they rot & return to earth & there is an end of them.'—Bayly, 17 May. King, 5 July, has something to add. 'My friend Fattafai' he did me the honour to appear much affect'd during the time I was packing up the observatory, he with earnestness prest me to stay, & told me that he woud build a large house on the point w[h]ere our observatories stood, & that I shoud observe the heavens in peace. It shoud be observ'd, that when these people gave any opinion as to the use of the clocks & other instruments & the reason of our observing, they always supposed the Clock to be an Eatooa (God) & that we were performing religious ceremonies to the Sun Moon &[c]; many of these notions of theirs were rather countenanc'd, as it was surely better to leave them with ideas of our having some religion than none at all & it is too true, that no other part of our conduct or way of spending our time, coud furnish them with the smallest reason to suppose we had any Religion, indeed many of them woud ask who & what was our God, which we endeavourd to answer by saying he was theirs as well as our God, & corresponded with an opinion of their own of one Omnipotent being: the little we were able to learn concerning their religious tenets shall be referred to another place.'

[1] The interpretation of 'stone coffins' as vaults is of course correct; but Cook might have omitted his 'something like'. They were indubitable vaults.

55: Anderson D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

denotes local worship. The Malaees are however doubtless public places for that purpose, as their solemn rites are perform'd there, and their superiority with respect to situation and extent which far exceeds any of their private habitations argues; besides there can be no other reasonable conjecture offer'd about the persons who pronounc'd the orations in performing the Natche & the two that began the same thing when we first went with Poulaho, than that they were no other than priests and at that time absolutely prefering some petition to this invisible being. The next part of their creed is a belief in the plurality of deitys, though all inferior to this one, amongst whom they mention Toofooa boolootoo[1] god of the clouds and fogg, Talle te'boo[2] and some others residents of the heavens. The first in rank and power, who has the government of the sea and its productions, is call'd Footo'fooa[3] who they say is a male and has for wife Fykava ka'jeea,[4] and here as in heaven there are several inferior ones as Va'hää-fonooa;[5] Tareeava;[6] Matta'ba-E'varoo[7] &c. The same religious system does not however extend all over the cluster of isles; for the supreme god of Hapaee for instance is call'd Alo Alo,[8] and other isles have two or three of different names, but their notions of the power and other attributes of these beings would be reckond erroneous with us, as they suppose that after death they have no farther concern with them.

They have however very proper notions of the immateriality and immortality of the soul. They call it life, the living principle or what is more agreeable to their notions of it an O'tooa,[9] divinity or invisible being, and say that immediately on death that of their chiefs seperates from the body and goes to a place calls 'Boolootoo,[10] the chief or god of which is Gooleho.[11] This Gooleho seems synonymous with our Death, for all (even you & the men of Feejee speaking to us) say they are subject to the power and dominion of Gooleho. They feign that this country was never seen by any person, is to the westward beyond Feejee[a] (from whence one might suppose it is the most distant land they know, as many nations have plac'd their heaven in such a

[a] This shows that their notions of distance & duration extend but a little way as they suppose an everlasting place may be on the globe.

[1] Probably this is the same as Mariner's 'Too'i foou Bolotoo'—Tu'i fua Pulotu, 'Chief of all Pulotu'—Pulotu being the afterworld.
[2] Taliaitupou, the god of the Tu'i Kanokupolu; also god of war.
[3] This god eludes me, even though 'first in rank and power'.
[4] Faikavakisia, elsewhere said to be male.
[5] Fakafanua, or Tu'i Haa Fakafanua. [6] Taliafa ? [7] Matapa'i-valu ?
[8] Aloalo was 'God of wind and weather, rain, harvest, and vegetation in general', says Mariner, II, p. 107. His sanctuary was in Lifuka.
[9] *'Otua.* [10] Pulotu. [11] Hikuleo.

68: Cummins H-4 (no date) 1977 OU9 Tonga OU9

WHEN the Wesleyan missionaries arrived in Tonga in the 1820s the country was experiencing a period of political instability, a continuation, in fact, of the civil strife that began in 1797. Within months of Thomas's arrival two of the highest ranking chiefs—Tāufa'āhau and Laufilitonga—became embroiled in a struggle in Ha'apai which threatened the peace of the whole group.[9] Confronted with 'wars and rumours of wars', the missionaries felt it a duty to teach the new way—a way of love, mercy and peace. They saw the Tongans as a warlike people, revelling in war, enjoying fighting as a pastime.[10] But as the Christian teaching began to take root they frequently noted in their reports to their superiors in London that one of the most obvious fruits of the gospel was that the Tongans no longer cherished war. Visitors commented on the change. Ransome, log keeper of the whaler *Elizabeth*, observed that the people

> appear to have been much benefitted by the exertions of their . . . missionary Mr. Thomas—at one time they were a very warlike treacherous set, but now their manners are much altered . . . many of them brought their muskets to exchange for calico, that they may appear decently in church.[11]

When a new chapel was opened in Ha'apai in the 30s, the missionary present at the festivities wrote enthusiastically that the king and people desired 'to learn war no more'. As proof of this change of heart Charles Tucker told how the king had given a number of clubs and spears from which the communion rail for the new chapel had been fashioned.[12] Other new chapels were decorated with former weapons of war, and David Cargill pointed out that 'walking sticks made from these weapons are very common'.[13]

Two outbreaks of hostilities early in the mission's history, one in 1831 and the other in 1833, were settled without loss of blood, and the missionaries were quick to point out that the new Christian attitude which was responsible for the bloodlessness of the fighting stood in marked contrast to the brutality of the former era. Describing the events which followed the destruction of the rebel fort in Vava'u in 1831, Turner noted:

> The captive party were expecting to share the same fate [as the ill-fated fortress], and Finau seemed wishful to make an example of the ring leaders but King Geo. had begun to feel some little of the principles of Christianity

[9] John Thomas, Journal, 25 Aug. 1826, 26-27 Oct. 1826, WMMS (ANL, mf M159).
[10] James Watkin, draft of article for *Methodist Magazine*, 30 Sept. 1833, Sydney, Mitchell Library (hereinafter ML), James Watkin Papers, A1540. Peter Turner, Journal, 23 June 1833, ML, B301.
[11] H. Ransome, Log Book of the Whaling Ship *Elizabeth*, 26 Feb. 1832, 28 Mar. 1832, MLA1481.
[12] Tucker to Secretaries of the WMMS, 17 Sept. 1835. *Papers Relative to Wesleyan Missions*, LXXV (1838).
[13] David Cargill, Journal, 2 Oct. 1834, ML, A1817.

76: Yuncker N-4,5 (1953) 1959 OU9 Tonga OU9

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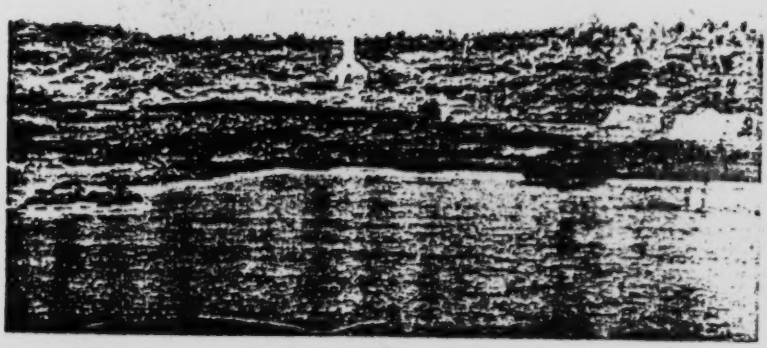

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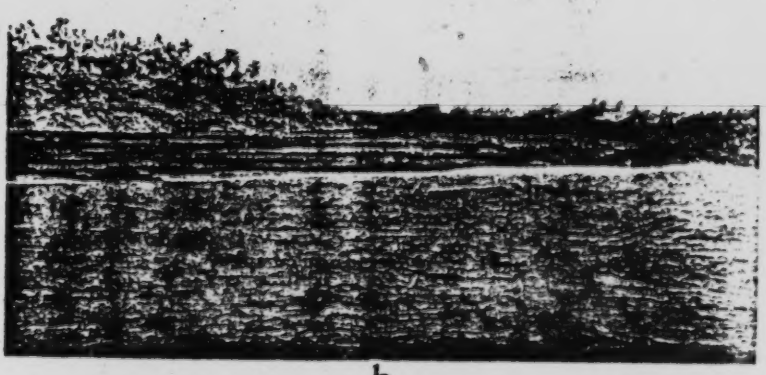

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FIGURE 2.—a, remains of church in village on Niuafo'ou Island destroyed by 1946 eruption (note lava flow which reached sea); vegetation is rapidly pioneering on older flows. Houses on right are used by temporary visitors who come to cut copra. b, lava flow on island of Niuafo'ou, where an extensive beach of "black sand" has been formed. Background trees at right form large grove of *Casuarina equisetifolia*.

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79: Lātūkefu H,I,M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
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contentment and tedium made their appearance. Many fell back to their old ways and Peter Turner himself lamented that 'these movements so soon die away' (P. Turner, Journal, 24 Nov. 1844).

However, Peter Turner pointed out that the revival had made many of the young men desire to work for God, and more than a hundred were brought forward who wished to be employed as exhorters or local preachers. Those who stood firm, chiefs and commoners alike, formed a very strong and militant team of evangelists who proved to be of great assistance to the work of the missionaries.

Foremost among these was King George himself. Before the revival movement there was an obvious want of depth in his acceptance of Christianity. When the chapel at Lifuka was constructed King George was grieved to find that the pulpit was the highest point within its walls. This was to him a violation of a taboo which maintained that no subject of his should sit or stand above him. To rectify this he had a platform built for himself on the opposite side higher than the pulpit. Later in 1833 when he took over the rulership of Vava'u he decided to inherit some of his predecessor's younger and more attractive wives as well. Peter Turner promptly disciplined him by terminating his membership of the Society.

In the following year King George repented, married Lupe Pau'u[2] in a Christian ceremony (Watkin, Journal, 27 Mar. 1834), and was readmitted to his former position in the mission. He and his wife were deeply involved in the revival movement. When he returned to Lifuka he had the tall platform in the chapel pulled down, and from that time on he sat at the same level on the floor in the chapel with his subjects. He became a local preacher, a very ardent evangelist and was instrumental in converting many of his people. Both he and his wife became class leaders assisting the development of the spiritual life of their people. Many of his fellow chiefs in Ha'apai and Vava'u followed his example.

As for the commoners, they had little to lose but rather much to gain by accepting Christianity. Now for the first time they

[2] Lupe Pau'u had been the principal wife of the Tu'i Tonga, Laufilitonga, before she eloped with Tāufa'āhau in 1833 and they were married by the missionaries in 1834.

79: Lātūkefu H,I,M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
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10 The Growing Separation

The deterioration in the relations between the Wesleyan missionaries and King George and his chiefs, which was already evident during the latter part of the 1850s, became increasingly apparent during the following decade. During this decline in the political influence of the missionaries generally, only one of them, Shirley Baker, began to emerge as a significant political figure. He was to play a leading part in bringing about the Constitution of 1875.

The King's social ties with the mission had been restored by 1863 when he resumed his normal relationships with the Society and personally supervised the construction of a new chapel at Nuku'alofa which was to become the biggest and most beautiful chapel hitherto built in Tonga. However, he did not restore the senior missionaries to their former place as his political advisers and confidants and the gulf between church and state, evident at the time of the 1862 Code of Laws, was to become ever wider.

One of the reasons for this was the missionaries' change of attitude with regard to the independent sovereignty of Tonga. While the country was secure from external threats the missionaries appeared to be reasonably satisfied with the internal management of the kingdom by King George and his chiefs. However, after the decisive actions of the French in Tahiti during the 1840s, which proved beyond doubt that the European powers had entered the Pacific and were bound to disturb the politically vulnerable islands of the region, they felt some concern. They realised that the weak indigenous governments were no match for any major power, backed by warships and guns, and that Tonga was no exception.

It was natural for the Wesleyan missionaries to look to Britain, their homeland, for protection. When Thomas advised King George and his chiefs to give their country to the British, he was expressing a genuine conviction that the interests of both the mission and Tonga would best be served by placing the country under British rule. However, this well-meant advice met with vehement opposi-

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
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[1825-1830]

Haepe and Tafeta reached Nuku'alofa on the ship *Minerva*. They had been designated by the L.M.S. missionaries in Tahiti for work in Lakeba, in the Lau group of Fiji. They came in company with a Fijian named Takai who had begged the L.M.S. missionaries to send teachers to his own land. With Takai was a Tongan, Langi. Both of these men had accepted Christianity in Tahiti and had acquired a certain familiarity with the Tahitian language. The *Minerva* had sprung a leak and needed repairs at Nuku'alofa, but it was not intended that the Tahitian teachers should stay there. They had brought with them a small spelling book in Fijian which had been compiled with the help of the Fijian, Takai. It was printed in Tahiti in 1825, the first printing in the Fijian language; but it does not seem to have been used either by these two Tahitians nor by the L.M.S. teachers who followed them and went on to Lakeba in 1830. 797

As a matter of courtesy Haepe and Tafeta had been provided with presents for Aleamotu'a, the chief at Nuku'alofa, as well as the ruling chief of Lakeba, Tui Nayau, whom they expected to meet there. The L.M.S. missionaries had instructed them not to stay in Nuku'alofa because it was thought that Walter Lawry was still in Tongatapu and the L.M.S. did not wish to encroach on what it regarded as a Wesleyan field. Aleamotu'a, however, had heard that the Christian message had been accepted in Tahiti, and he insisted that Haepe and Tafeta should remain at Nuku'alofa and teach him and his people. The recommendation of Langi, the Tongan accompanying them, also carried weight with Aleamotu'a. The Tongan chief contended that it was reversing the order of precedence for the teachers to go to Fiji and leave Tonga; Tonga was the head, he said, and Fiji only the tail! (7)

Aleamotu'a provided for the Tahitian teachers' material wants, and he built them a chapel, the first used by Tongans for worship. With nearly 300 of his people, he began to worship regularly in this chapel. It was built in the style adopted by the L.M.S. in Tahiti, with white-washed walls and a floor of "grass" (Peter Vi's narrative), with the pulpit on one side, and with the sexes segregated in the congregation. The Tahitians always used their own language and evidently Langi interpreted for them. In addition to regular services these men conducted a school at Nuku'alofa. [34] [177]

Although the Tahitians did not learn Tongan their faithfulness had greater results than they could have expected. Not only had they a congregation but some of the worshippers professed conversion, one being a chief named 'Ulakai (an uncle of Taufa'ahau), who may be regarded as the first Tongan to become a Christian in Tonga. Also, Taufa'ahau came from Ha'apai and found that the new religion was taking root. He was impressed by what he saw and discussed the question with Aleamotu'a before returning to Ha'apai; it was the beginning of the momentous change in this influential chief.

The Fijian, Takai, had gone back to Tahiti to secure other teachers for Lakeba. When the L.M.S. missionary, John Davies, knew that Haepe and Tafeta were teaching at Nuku'alofa and not Lakeba, he was sensitive to what he felt was trespassing on Wesleyan territory. He sent a message to Haepe and Tafeta to proceed to Fiji or else to return to Tahiti. By this time it was known in Tahiti that the Wesleyans, Thomas and Hutchinson, were on their way to Tonga, and Davies wrote to Thomas to clarify the position of the L.M.S. As it happened, the success of the two Tahitians made it impossible for them to leave Nuku'alofa at that time.

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
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number of men to release the Englishmen. He did this in spite of the fact that the chief Malupo had been his enemy and had fought against him. He also compelled the 'Uiha people to return the plundered goods. The sailors were brought to Lifuka where they were given clothes, and the owner, who had criticized missionaries a few days before, was glad to receive their help.[17] The guns from the ship were eventually placed as trophies around the church on the island of 'Uiha.

'Uiha was the last island in Ha'apai to accept Christianity and Taufa'ahau won it over by a stratagem. While he was visiting Vava'u he sent a message to the chief, Malupo, to bring his warriors, 160 in all, to defend him against a possible attack from the men of Vava'u. When they arrived they were disarmed; no one was killed. Taufa'ahau kept them in Vava'u until his own followers had gone to 'Uiha and dismantled its fort.[18] Soon afterwards 'Uiha accepted the new religion and built one of the finest chapels in Tonga.

Taufa'ahau won the highest commendation from the missionaries who contrasted him with the weak though well-meaning Aleamotu'a, Josiah Tupou. Thomas, later, objected to what he regarded as Aleamotu'a's interference in church affairs. In September 1833, Thomas wrote, "Tupou has behaved as though he wished to be a Pope". In January 1834 he complained,

> "Aleamotu'a has got the idea that it is his duty to govern in the Church of Christ, his place to appoint teachers or displace them, his place to take into society" (= membership) "and put out." (19)

Thomas showed his own growing disposition to be overbearing when he wrote that Nathaniel Turner and Cross,

> "by yielding to Aleamotu'a's covetousness and fearing his displeasure, have not a little strengthened him in his evil ways and thus made it more difficult to manage him. . . . Tongan chiefs wish to be as gods to their people and not only to govern their bodies but their consciences. I have made a firm stand and would sooner be ordered out of the chapel than allow him to govern in the house of God." (20)

Thomas was beginning to realize the problems of the "chiefly church" that his successors were to find a doubtful blessing.

When Aleamotu'a expressed disagreement with the missionaries' decision to remove the printing press from Nuku'alofa to Vava'u as a safer place during the wars, James Watkin commented,

> "Taufa'ahau is worth a thousand Tupous".(21)

Another missionary, Stephen Rabone, wrote of Taufa'ahau,

> "Perhaps no one ever obtained such influence in the Friendly Islands as he has nor is it likely anyone was ever half so much respected and beloved. The Christians love him. The heathen fear him and all parties respect him." (22)

The missionaries anticipated that, when Aleamotu'a died, Taufa'ahau would succeed him as Tu'i Kanokupolu; and, as they rightly regarded this position as politically much more important than that of the Tu'i Tonga, they hoped that Taufa'ahau's growing influence would greatly assist their own cause everywhere in Tonga. Already it seemed that their fortunes and Taufa'ahau's were linked together.

Taufa'ahau built a chapel in Lifuka, and it was opened on 9 September 1835, after taking only two months to erect with voluntary labour. The largest in Tonga, 110 feet by 45 feet, the chapel included a communion rail formed of carved spears used formerly by Taufa'ahau and his family, and carved clubs once

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
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regarded as gods were placed at the foot of the pulpit stairs. Taufa'ahau preached at the opening, taking as his text Solomon's words at the opening of the temple in Jerusalem (I Kings viii. 27). While the chapel was in course of construction Taufa'ahau had found that the pulpit was higher than his own chair which stood on the dais at the side of the chapel. As, in Tongan custom, no one, foreigner or Tongan, should be higher than the chief, he ordered the workmen to raise his chair so that he could look down on the preacher. However, he readily yielded to persuasion and admitted that it was not necessary that he should be elevated in a place of worship.

When the Lifuka chapel was built there was said to be only one unbaptized person left in the whole of the Ha'apai group. By October 1834, James Watkin himself had baptized 2,570 adults and 891 children; he had also performed the marriage ceremony for 754 couples. One of the last baptized was the Tamaha who had long resisted the appointment of any teacher to Tungua, her island in western Ha'apai. John Thomas visited Tungua for her baptism on 12 January 1835 when she took the name Amelia Jane. In later years the Tamaha became blind and so infirm that she was carried to church.[23]

It was inevitable that many of those who professed conversion in the mass movement in Ha'apai were little more than Christians in name. Almost too much had been attempted too quickly by the missionaries. James Watkin and Peter Turner were disturbed because of the continued prevalence of immorality and other habits unworthy of converts. With such a widely scattered group as Ha'apai, closer supervision and the provision of more trained Tongan teachers were needed.

* * * *

In Vava'u the evangelization of the population occurred in the same rapid manner as in Ha'apai and again through the influence of Taufa'ahau. At first Finau 'Ulukalala was stolidly opposed to the new faith. His attitude had been seen in his prohibition against the three Borabora L.M.S. teachers from 1822 to 1830, and he made this policy clear to John Williams when he met him in July 1830. By sending messages and by conversation when he met Taufa'ahau, Finau earnestly endeavoured to dissuade the chief of Ha'apai from accepting Christianity. Both before and after his visit to Lifuka in July 1830 this was evident. Once he added to his request the present of a large canoe which, Taufa'ahau declared, would make good firewood! Seemingly still adamant, Finau, however, was beginning to feel the current of popular feeling moving against him. A few of his people had gone to Ha'apai in their desire to learn the new religion. Taufa'ahau also was relentless in the pressure he exerted on Finau to persuade him to change.

Aleamotu'a Tupou in Tongatapu supported Taufa'ahau in urging Finau to accept the new religion. Finau used the services of a stranded English sailor in Vava'u to write to Nathaniel Turner, at the same time as he replied to one of Aleamotu'a's messages. The sincerity of this strange epistle may well be doubted as it was written on 19 March 1829, a year before he emphasized his hostility to Christian teaching when he met John Williams in Lifuka. The letter to Nathaniel Turner read as follows:—

> "Sir, I am so glad to hear that you are at Tongatapu, teaching my friend Tupou to know the Great God. I hope you will be so kind as to send to Port Jackson" (i.e., Sydney) "for more missionaries to come to my land, to teach me and my people. . . .

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
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[1839 - 1847]

Latuselu was at once appointed to take charge of Niua Toputapu. Faupula and Latu were ordained at a later date. 797

Much responsibility devolved upon the ordained Tongan ministers, or Native Assistant Missionaries (N.A.M.) as they were officially termed. The success of the Mission also largely depended on the work of the pastor-teachers in the villages and the catechists who were the seniors among them and from whom the ordained ministers were chosen after further training. As in other Mission fields these men bore the brunt of the ongoing work at the local level. In preaching they were assisted by local preachers of whom there was never any dearth, such was the eagerness of Tongans to speak in public, to pray, and to lead the worship of congregations.

A vital part of the Mission's work of consolidation was educational. From the outset the Mission's primary object in establishing schools was to enable people to read the Scriptures. In 1839 there were 9,544 scholars in the Mission schools, "all taught gratuitously" as John Thomas noted.[19] The limited syllabus was academic. John Waterhouse, in his visit as General Superintendent in 1841, had the foresight to recognize the need for practical training suitable for the Tongans' needs, but many years passed before his vision was even partially realized. 797 872

Waterhouse in 1841 had also strongly urged that more should be done in preparing men for the ministry. His policy was put into effect at once by the establishment of the training institution at Vava'u with Francis Wilson. The District Meeting decided to call it "The Friendly Islands Wesleyan Academy for the training of Native Assistant Missionaries".[20] 797 874

The nine students in this "Academy" grew to fifteen in 1844. Care had to be taken not to hurt the feelings of the old teachers; the new ones on graduating were not entitled "Assistant Missionaries" but only "teachers". English was attempted but soon given up, as all but two found it too difficult. One of these was the Fijian, John Faupula, who became an ornament to the ministry. Faupula had been the first convert in Lakeba, baptized there by David Cargill, but compelled to leave Fiji because of the opposition of his faither, Tui Nayau, chief of the Lau islands. He became a stalwart leader and the first in a distinguished family of ministers. [191]

Taufa'ahau was interested in the new training venture at Neiafu. He ordered a large party of men to erect the building, and this structure was actually built, of native materials, in one day. Wilson wanted desks and benches, and these were promptly made from bush timbers; the students did not sit on the floor as in the primary schools. He also wanted books and writing paper, not slates. Useful material was found in the simple text-books, in such subjects as geography, which had been written by the wife of Charles Tucker before her exertions undermined her health and led to her return with her husband and family in 1841. 797 874 346

In 1847 Waterhouse's successor, Lawry, brought the new mission vessel, *John Wesley*, 250 tons, as a replacement for the notorious ship *Triton*, which had been slow, and often leaked badly, and was generally full of cockroaches. There now began, not only a new era in mission transport but also in the system and standard of education in Tonga. With Lawry came Richard Amos, who continued and expanded the work of Francis Wilson. 797

In his school at Nuku'alofa, Amos conducted classes for catechists and future candidates for the ministry as well as primary school classes. In his lessons for 797 874

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
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Wheen, now President-General, were welcomed to the celebrations which lasted several weeks. 797

It was hoped that the Centenary would remove any consciousness of differences within the united Church and even soften the hearts of those who had refused to join it. Undoubtedly, there was a fulfilment of the first desire. A very emotional outburst of religious fervour and Christian love indicated this. The revival (as it seemed to be) began in January 1926 in the village of Koulo in Ha'apai. Like the Pentecostal experiences in Vava'u in 1834 it spread very quickly through the whole of Tonga. "The love has fallen" upon the Church, the people said, and any friction within the united Church disappeared. The second desire, that there would be a movement towards completing union, failed entirely; the Centenary celebrations left untouched those who were opposed to union. 795

It was intended that a Centenary Church in Nuku'alofa should be the most demonstrative memorial. The site on historic Zion Hill where the old Wesleyan Church had stood was too small for the very large building now planned. Financial difficulties, with the economic depression and then the Second World War, caused repeated delays with this project; and it was not until 1952 that the imposing Centenary Church, seating over 2,000, was built. 368 346

Some of the financial difficulties in the Church arose from the pressure of chiefs who expected the Church to retain their favour by making loans to them. This practice had been widely followed before union in 1924 and it proved difficult to reverse it suddenly. This illustrated another problem in a "chiefly Church". 795 426 565 622

It was not only at the highest national level that deference to the chief could cause a weakness in the Church. At the local level the ministers were sometimes brought into conflict with the chiefs' authority. It was traditional for the people to follow a chief's decision. When moral and spiritual issues were concerned and when a chief thought little of the standards of the Church it was difficult for a minister in the village to oppose him. For example, he might countenance alcohol or gambling or he might expect his wishes regarding church property or money to be obeyed. In all such cases it required a strong personality in a Tongan minister to uphold both moral principles and strict church procedures against a chief. 795 622 565

Better education, general and religious, for chiefs and people, and better theological training for the ministry, were needed to strengthen the Church's character and influence. In the forty years of division in Tonga educational progress was hindered not only by the limited resources of the Wesleyan Church but by the continuing rivalry between Church and Government, aggravated by the old differences between the Wesleyans and the Free Church, the latter supported by the Government system of education. 795 871

Reunion led to new opportunities in education. Before reunion Tupou College had waned greatly in numbers. It had continued to use Tongan as its medium, with the large amount of literature translated by Moulton. However, the growing need for English was recognized by the establishing of a new section with this objective; this was built in 1921 at Nafualu, four miles west of Nuku'alofa. At first it had only 20 students, with the brilliant historian-anthropologist, Dr. E. E. V. Collocott, as Principal; he retired early in 1924. The school grew to 104 in 1928. The girls' section, soon to be called Queen Salote College (in honour of George 795 873 [91]

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
OU9 Tonga OU9

suddenly of a heart attack. His great-great-grandfather was Fatu with whom Walter Lawry stayed in 1822-3. His great-grandfather was 'Ulakai, the first convert of the two Tahitian teachers in 1826. In Church and State Tungi stood loyally beside the Queen with sound advice and unwavering integrity. He was beloved of his people in the Mu'a district, being generous in his allocation of land. Always a leader among old students of Tupou College, he was honoured by them in the erection of the Tungi Mailefihi Memorial Building at Toloa in 1957.

Before the war, Tupou College had grown to 400 students and Queen Salote College to 170, all being boarders. In 1947 the boys were removed from Nafualu to Toloa, near Fua'amotu, 14 miles south-east of Nuku'alofa, for the sake of more gardening land; the enrolment grew to 700 in post-war years. Day girls were admitted to Queen Salote College until the number grew to 750; this school has an outstanding reputation for both academic and domestic training, as well as participation in national dances on important occasions. In 1949 middle schools were formed in various centres; this avoided overcrowding at the Colleges and improved the standards in Ha'apai, Vava'u and other places. The financial burden on the Church continued to grow heavier, even though, for instance, the head teacher in a Church school had only the same salary as a beginner on a Government school staff. The women of the Church in Australia gave some help, for example, with the building of the dormitory for 200 girls at Siu'ilikutapu College in Vava'u.

After the removal of Tupou College to Toloa, the property at Nafualu was used, from 1948 onwards, as a combined Theological College and Bible College, the latter for church stewards who were virtually assistant pastors in smaller villages. The Queen gave it a new name, Sia'atoutai, the place where nets are prepared for fishing. From 30 the number grew in 1970 to 126, with six young women training as deaconesses. The Rev. R. A. W. Woodgate was most successful in preparing students for the L.Th. examinations in 1951-61. By 1961 seven had gained the L.Th. at Sia'atoutai. After 1965 all L.Th. subjects were taught by Tongan teachers.

As the long-delayed project of building the Centenary Church finally developed, it was necessary to remove the building erected by the old Free Church in 1888. Accommodating 800, it was an excellent example of Tongan architecture. The large roof and supports were moved as one unit, mounted on two motor-trucks and 24 carts, with hundreds of willing helpers. What seemed the impossible feat of transporting this heavy structure intact more than 300 yards was accomplished in the presence of the Queen.

The new concrete church took almost three years to erect. It is 184 feet by 70 feet, with an imposing clock-tower, the largest church in the South Pacific, seating over 2,000. The architect was Mr. W. C. Brown and the foreman of works, Mr. R. L. Pearson, both of Sydney; the Tongan foreman was Amini Fonua. Much of the work was done voluntarily by church people. The actual cost was £40,000. On 27 September 1952 it was opened by the Queen and dedicated by the visiting ex-President-General, Dr. H. G. Secomb.

On the whole, the Free Wesleyan Church may well feel that it has benefited greatly from royal approval and encouragement. The Queen was always wholeheartedly involved in the faith and witness of the Church at every level. This was much more important than the exercise of her constitutional prerogative of approving the election of the President of Conference each year. Whether the

/30 cont./

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ishingly large number of practical Tongans; for example, on Nomuka there was a Tongan living in the bush on his plantation who was incapable of climbing a coconut palm, while another native of this island, in using an outrigger, was simply unable to keep on a straight course.

in handling gasoline lamps, sewing machines, (59)

[294]

59. In November 1951 a Tongan woman using a hand sewing machine copied a German style shirt belonging to the author to fit her husband, after she had briefly seen it while laundering it.

bicycles and trucks, they have not only great independence in applying European building methods (60)

[346]
[252]

60. For example, in 1946, the finished Catholic church in Fungamisi (Vava'u) of concrete construction with a steeple 16 meters high was designed and built solely by Tongans; in Pangai/Lifuka in 1950 a Tongan built a well functioning baker's oven under primitive conditions, after he had seen one like it in Nuku'alofa.

usually without systematic learning (often just by watching), but they also carry on with church work, the school system and public health service on most islands, independently, without direct European help, and a number of Tongans even founded two Tongan Wesleyan churches in order to be free of dependence on Europeans in this sphere. (61)

61. See chapter "Religion" p. 369 f.

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However, his considerable intelligence does not help the Tongan toward a proper feeling for, or an actual understanding of, the European world. The Archipelago is isolated and too distant from the large countries of the world, and the European influences that reach the small islands are essentially only of ecclesiastical and material

/41 cont./

346 The construction of some schools and especially of many dwellings
342 built in the European "shanty style" also leave much to be desired
362 from a health standpoint (for example, uninsulated corrugated iron roofs), there having been as yet no effective remedy.

757 The Tongans are largely indifferent to the health service. In most cases of illness they first try self-healing with ancient Tongan herb medicines and massage, sometimes with a small admixture of magic, and if this does not help and the case seems very serious, they go to the doctor. At the same time, there are a few /42/ natives who run to the doctor with a headache or a slight stomach upset, as well as a few who do without any kind of medical help. (92)

92. On Nomuka the author saw a woman who, after eating a poisoned shark liver, was very ill and, despite grave danger, did not wish to see the assistant doctor who lived only 300 meters away.

[743] In places where an auxiliary hospital or "dispensary" /cited in English/ is situated close by, the Tongans are beginning to come in with
757 minor cases (coughs, constipation, diarrhea, cuts, boils). The Tongan
177 physicians regard the present situation as being a considerable improvement over the condition 40 years ago. A certain change has
[656] surely taken place in the last decades. Thus the old Tongan healing art (93)

93. Various elements of the Tongan healing art were borrowed from the natives of the Fiji Islands (for example, Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 242.)

which was not always fortunate, (94)

94. A series of spontaneous attempts at healing often took the place of a diagnosis.

was forbidden by a governmental law and was also virtually repressed
298 by the growing European-type health service. However, some of the
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100: Koch--187 E-4,5 (1951-1952) 1955 OU9 Tonga OU9

/126 cont./

69 177 565 69 177 184 565 671 [999] for example by guaranteeing the new rights of commoners. It is astonishing how all classes of the Tonga people accept, and submit to, this administration of justice, without reservation and as a matter of course. Even the inhabitants of the small, remote islands of the Archipelago eagerly avail themselves of the laws and courts if an injustice done them by anyone seems greater than their equanimity and peacefulness can accept. A full appreciation of this judicial system can be explained chiefly by the way it began: under the strong influence of the Wesleyan missionaries, the uncontested authority of the chiefs was transferred to the new government and to the church; the demands and rights of these two institutions were incorporated in the laws to which the government with its law courts was able to give more and more authority. Naturally, the commoners found it all the more easy to accept the new judicial system since it gave them many advantages in comparison with the past. After initial resistance, the chiefs accepted the Christian-democratic laws of this, at first very church-minded state, probably in part because of their religious feelings, and especially because resistance seemed hopeless and would only have worsened their position.

3. THEIR ECONOMIC LIFE

A. Dwelling

a) House and House-Building

342 177 The Tongan dwellings (sleep houses) today present a very non-uniform picture, for the decline of ancient Tongan crafts as a result of European influences brought about a certain crudeness in the old type of houses, and through the importation of European building material as well as the spread of new methods of construction, there arose a diversity of "modern" types.

● 346 The sources (346)

/133 cont./

342 floor is no longer raised by about /134/ one foot. In such houses
178 greater dampness easily arises, which can cause the inhabitants
(164) rheumatism, among other things. The house built in the ancient Tongan style--with the slight elevation of the floor--is said by physicians to be the type best adapted to that climate. The former customary partitioning of the room by moveable, plaited mats of reed in a semicircle have today been replaced by curtains of tapa or of cotton (more seldom by board walls) [hanging from] two opposite posts, partitioning off one of the round ends of the house (in some cases, both round ends) as the sleeping quarters. The European-like constructions
(177) of the "box type" and "veranda type" (of timber and corrugated sheet metal) are usually raised one-half to one meter above the ground on posts and have a wooden floor which is, naturally, dry and, by its elevation, provides a certain protection against ants, beetles, etc.
(435) This advantage must, however, be dearly paid for in the high cost of such a house and the often high temperature and bad air inside. Interior walls with doors subdivide the larger of these houses, whereas in the smaller ones the sleep area is closed off with a curtain of tapa or cotton.

344 The ancient Tongan meeting houses and guest houses of chiefs
178 have disappeared. Of larger houses in the villages we find today
346 above all the churches which are built on the ancient Tongan ground
177 plan or as European-like buildings. The schools and kautaha houses.
178 (361)

361. See pp. 134-135, 137-140.

are mostly built of timber and corrugated metal in rectangular shape and usually do not exceed in size the larger European-type dwellings.
343 The ancient Tongan storehouses have also passed into oblivion. Today,
178 many families no longer own a storehouse; for the rest, simple huts

/247 cont./

p. 207 ff.).

which were closely associated with the high chiefs, there was no systematic worship of the gods. There were few temples on the islands; they did not differ greatly from the dwellings of the chiefs. Only a few wooden figures of gods existed in the Archipelago. The (shamanlike) /248/ priests played a subordinate role and were by no means united in a special, powerful rank. (664)

664. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 145 ff.

They were inspired by the gods which each priest served; the chiefs asked them for counsel and the sick and dying were brought in front of their dwellings so that they might induce the gods to heal them. In order to dispose the gods favorably toward the recovery of the sufferers, their relatives of lower rank offered joints of their little fingers (or parts of the fingers), (665)

665. See J. Martin, loc. cit. I. p. 454; II. pp. 222/223.

and if all pleading and even the finger sacrifices were unable to save the dying chief, then a child of one's circle of relatives was strangled in order to dispose the gods to be merciful by means of this supreme sacrifice. (666)

666. Ibid. I. pp. 378 ff., 454; II. p. 220 ff. If a specially serious crime was committed, the natives also tried to avert disaster threatened by the gods through a child sacrifice (ibid. I. p. 228 ff.).

In Tongan society there are few examples of definite disbelief (667)

667. See E.W. Gifford, Tongan society. p. 347; J. Martin, loc. cit. I. pp. 159, 338/339. II. p. 1 ff.

and although perhaps not all commoners could become reconciled to their lot of complete extinction after death, (668)

100: Koch--380 E-4,5 :1951-1952) 1955 OU9 Tonga OU9

/251 cont./ When earthquakes, which are frequent in Tonga
773 occur, some people, as in old times, (675)
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796 still make a noise in order to quiet the demigod Maui who carries the earth on his shoulders and, on such occasions, moves because of his uncomfortable position; not all natives, however, are aware of the meaning of this noise-making.

675. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 120; J. Wilson, A missionary voyage /cited in English/. pp. 277/278.

346 Today, every Tongan village has several churches, and even settlement on the tiniest islands of the Archipelago are not satisfied with only one of these more or less simple houses of God. The
795 reason is /252/ that there are now seven different denominations among
794 this people of 50,000 souls: the Free Wesleyan Church of Tonga, the Free Church of Tonga, the Church of Tonga, the Roman Catholic Church, the Latter Day Saints, (Mormons) the Seventh Day Adventists and the Church of England /all cited in English/. The Mormons, the Adventists and the Church of England have been working for only a few decades in Tonga, and have only a small following so far. A larger number of Tongans belong to the Catholic church, which has done mission work in the Archipelago since 1842, but even they are a minority compared to most of the nation which is Wesleyan. The Wesleyans are split up into three churches of which the Free Wesleyan Church of Tonga is the largest and comprises more than half of all Tongans.

The reasons for the origin of three Wesleyan churches are the following:

Around the middle of the previous century practically all Tongans were Christians, and the great majority of them were Wesleyans. They belonged to the Wesleyan (Mission) Church of the Australasian Wesleyan Methodist Church which was under the authority of the Australasian Conference. In 1885 King George Tupou I, with the aid

/253 cont./

795 the Catholic church, and that conversely Catholics do the same, that
578 members of the Free Wesleyan Church actively help one of the dissenting churches build their church (as happened on Nomuka, for example, in 1951/52) and that Wesleyans send their children to Catholic schools (and vice versa). The Tongans are, after all, too even-tempered to let serious inner conflicts arise just because each of the seven
795 churches regards its doctrine to be the only true one. They belong
794 to a church and give themselves more or less to its services and find
791 inner contentment therein. And if they do not find this, if for some reason they are dissatisfied and learn of the very convincing doctrine of another church, they will simply change over. However, such transfers are not frequent enough to cause a continuing turnover amongst the membership of the individual church communities.

346 In an average Tongan village there are perhaps three or four
179 (five) churches. They are either simple structures shaped like larger dwellings of ancient Tonga style, roofed over and covered with interwoven halved coconut palm leaves (pola) or provided with board walls, glass windows and corrugated iron roofs, or they are simple European-type rectangular frame houses (with corrugated iron roofs) or, in rare cases, buildings resembling European churches, made of coral limstone, sand and cement, or of reinforced concrete with a regular church steeple. (676)

676. The Catholic church of Pangai/Lifuka, for example, was built in the 20s of this century in the style of a French village church, and even has a steeple clock. The Catholic church of Fungamisi/Vava'u, built in 1946 of reinforced concrete, has a steeple 16 meters high. In 1952 the Wesleyans completed the largest church building of the Archipelago in Nuku'alofa (Tongatapu), a modern-style reinforced concrete construction which is huge by their standards.

346 The interiors of the Wesleyan churches vary from simple seat mats on
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/253 cont./

346 352 the floor and a small wooden table for the preacher, to complete furnishings, with a pulpit and benches. In the Catholic churches /254/ and chapels one finds altars and the customary decor.

797 Only a few white missionaries are still working on the islands. 793 794 In general, the Tongans carry on the work begun by Europeans, and conduct the services themselves. The individual Wesleyan congregations are headed by native clergymen and, in accordance with the character of the Methodist church, they are assisted by a number of lay preachers. In the Catholic churches of the Archipelago a bishop and several priests officiate, but on the smaller islands native catechists have taken over their work, provided they are authorized to do so according to the organization of the Catholic church. Tongans also head some of the Mormon congregations.

796 The number of church services is relatively large. The Wesleyans generally go to church six times a week: Mondays at 17 o'clock, Wednesdays at 5 (6) o'clock, Fridays at 17 o'clock and Sundays at [533] 5 (6); 9 and 15 o'clock. (In addition there are often rehearsals of [794] the quite large church choirs on two or three evenings a week.) In the Catholic churches the morning masses are read every day, and at 18 o'clock the evening prayer service is held; in addition, on Sundays there is high mass at 8 o'clock and the benediction at 16 o'clock.

796 794 Attendance at the services is very active; most Wesleyan Tongans, for example, scarcely miss one of them; (677)

[578] 677. In the villages, however, there are some who, for various reasons (for example, because they have an antipathy to the priest) stay away from services for years.

they willingly get up early for them and cease their plantation work in time so that they will not be late for church. (678)

678. On the subject of punctuality at church services see p. 33-34.

/276 cont./

872 the Tongan language and takes place on all the inhabited islands of the Archipelago, from Monday to Friday, from 8 to 13 o'clock. Vacations are in June (about four weeks) and from mid-December to the end of January. Half-yearly examinations are held and grades given out.

[875] The teachers who teach the mixed classes of boys and girls are mostly Tongans; only six schools have white teachers. Schoolbooks are mostly the property of the teachers. The children are taught with the help of blackboards and have notebooks, pens and ink. The schoolhouses, [346] [197] most of which are built of wood in European style (with corrugated iron roofs), are partly in bad repair. While the children of the lower grades 872 875 sit on the floor in Tongan fashion, the intermediate and upper classes are in part provided with school benches--A certain drawback in this [516] [352] elementary school teaching is the much too small number of male and female teachers. Moreover, the teachers do not all have the necessary [191] knowledge; some of them teach English, for example, and are themselves unable to speak English fluently.

873 Two of the intermediate schools /cited in English/ run by the Free Wesleyan Church are attended only by girls (between the ages of 11 and 18) who therewith complete their schooling or go on to college. The subjects [875] of the primary schools are here developed further. The teaching staff consists of white and Tongan teachers.

There are ten "secondary schools" /cited in English/ (colleges) in the Tonga Archipelago, one run by the government, four by the Wesleyan Mission, two by the Roman Catholic Church and one each by the Mormon Mission, the Anglican Church and the Adventist Mission. The male and female pupils are aged 11 to 18 (21) and attend the college for about five years. In 1950 (754)

754. See Report of the Department of Education...p. 3.

there were 1650 boys and girls (commoners as well as nobles) at these educational institutions. Most of them are boarding schools to which

102: Brierly T-3 (1850) 1852
OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu

ing the Multiplication Table they accompanied themselves by clapping their hands in time to the words, throwing the arms from side to side, all calling out at the same time at the top of their voices, and seeming to enjoy the whole affair amazingly. An old chief of considerable influence, named Shadrack, sat with the missionaries at the head of the school, and whenever the crowd outside talked too loud he commanded silence.

After this examination was over we visited another school, for the instruction of native teachers, which consisted of about twenty persons in all, principally chiefs and their wives. When we entered the school-room they were all standing up round the sides of the apartment, reading aloud. They were taught English, arithmetic, geography, writing, &c. After the reading and cipher-ing exercises were over, they sat down in two rows before a frame containing a set of large maps. These were drawn down, one after another, the natives repeating the names of the places, with particulars respecting them, as they were severally touched by the missionary. Captain Keppel then desired them to point out various places which he named. Spain, being the first, was immediately pointed out by a chief, Shadrack Moomie, Judge of the Island and a son of the late king. The end of the rod was then shifted slightly over, so as to rest upon Portugal, which Shadrack immediately named; and being asked to point out some islands in the Mediterranean which were mentioned, he did so readily. Being desired to show the track which should be taken by the Meander, for England, he at once traced it correctly. The rest of the pupils appeared equally intelligent. Several of the wives of these chiefs were present, and were treated by the men with marked attention, being seated in the foremost places. The missionaries call this "the native training institution," or school for educating native teachers. At the time of our visit there were twenty-four natives under this kind of instruction—eight being from the island of Vavau, six from Haabai, and ten belonging to Tongatabu. Besides these there are twelve female students, eight of whom are wives of the native teachers: there was also a chief from Feejee.

The two school-rooms, together with the houses of the native teachers, are built within a fence enclosing about 20 acres of ground, which was given for the purpose by King George. It is cultivated as a garden by the teachers residing upon it; and a broad walk, bordered with pine-apple plants and bananas, runs along its whole length, and on each side are the cottages of the teachers, with neatly kept paths leading to them from the main walk.

After attending the examinations, Mr. Thompson, the chaplain of the Meander, and myself, went upon an exploring stroll round the

102: Brierly T-3 (1850) 852
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Tongatapu

what at first we took to be a canoe, about 5 feet in length and 18 inches deep; this was the "lali," or great drum of the town, which was beaten to call the people together on important occasions. The old chief, seeing our curiosity excited about it, took up the sticks, two pieces of wood about 18 inches long, and began to beat it most vigorously, smiling all the time and nodding his head as though he were giving us quite a musical treat, becoming so energetic that we were afraid he would bring the whole place to see what the matter was. It was struck on the edge, one side being much worn away from continual beating. Although the sound, when standing near the drum, did not appear to be very loud, it could be heard distinctly for a considerable distance.

From the Governor's we went to the hill above the anchorage, where the Meander's band was coming to play in the afternoon. On the road we were passed by crowds of natives hurrying to the spot. As the band had not yet arrived we went to look at the inside of the church, which is a very perfect specimen of the native style of building; the floor was about 130 feet long by 44 feet wide; the roof being about 35 feet high in the middle, oval shaped and very deep. There were no windows, the light coming in from the openings in the sides, which served as entrances. The roof was placed upon a frame of very large spars, secured where they crossed each other by strong lashings, and supported by posts below. The whole floor was matted and without division of any kind, excepting a low rail before the pulpit. This church was built for the missionaries by King George in a very short time, upwards of a thousand people being employed in its erection.

While I was making a sketch from the hill, a young man came to me, and said he had a fine canoe to sell, and wished very much that I would go home with him to look at it, saying, in English, "Mine is a very good canoe; supposing you want it, I make the sail to-night;" and then, admiringly, as though he were looking at it, "O it is a beautiful canoe." Being rather more anxious about the sketch than his canoe, I did not pay much attention to what he was saying; and he continued to stand at my elbow, apparently watching every touch of the pencil very intently. Imagining that he was interested in the proceeding, I stopped, and held the book up for him to look at; but the canoe was all he was thinking about, and eagerly seizing the opportunity to direct my attention to his hut, among the cocoa-nut trees just below, he came again to the point, saying, persuasively, "Do come to the canoe;" and looking much disappointed when I said I could not then spare the time, he continued, in a resigned tone, "Well, you have the canoe; I make sail to-night," mentioning the sum of five dollars as the price of it. This latter idea put a stop to any further negotiation on the matter as far as I was con-